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THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR
LIVES AND TIMES

The Taking of Ballymera Market-House

From a Drawing by T. Carey in the Possession of the Rev. W. S. Smith of Belfast

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN

THEIR LIVES AND TIMES

BY

RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN

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NEWLY EDITED

WITH NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX

BY

VINCENT FLEMING O'REILLY

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CONTENTS

PAGE

NINETY-EIGHT ix

THE WEXFORD LEADERS

CHAP. IV. JOHN COLCLOUGH 3
CHAP. V. CORNELIUS GROGAN, ESQ. . . . 14
CHAP. VI. CAPTAIN KEUGH 30
CHAP. VII. JOHN KELLY 38
CHAP. VIII. EDWARD ROACH 41
CHAP. IX. EDWARD AND JOHN HAY . . . 44
CHAP. X. ANTHONY PERRY 65
CHAP. XI. ESMONDE KYAN 74
CHAP. XII. EDWARD FITZGERALD 85
CHAP. XIII. COLONEL JEREMIAH FITZHENRY . 108

APPENDIX I. 126
SECRET SERVICE MONEY EXPENDITURE.

APPENDIX II. 164
SECRET SERVICE MONEY REVELATIONS.

APPENDIX III. 180
THE GOVERNMENTAL SPY AND INFORMER SYSTEM.

APPENDIX IV. 286
MAJOR SIRR AND "HIS PEOPLE."

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE TAKING OF BALLYMERA MARKET-HOUSE . *Frontispiece*
From a Drawing by T. Carey in the Possession of the Rev. W. S. Smith of Belfast.

PAGE

NAPOLEON 68
After the Celebrated Painting by David.

BARTHOLOMEW TEELING 148
From an Engraving by T. H. Lynch after a Miniature in the Possession of the Teeling Family.

WILLIAM SAMPSON 228
From an Engraving by T. H. Lynch after a Drawing by Mrs. Tone.

NINETY-EIGHT

By "W"

The following poem, its authorship hidden in the anonymity of the signature "W," appeared in the popular weekly "The Nation" and was republished in the early editions of "The Spirit of the Nation," a collection of selected verse from that journal. It was probably written by Richard Dalton Williams but its suppression in later issues of this popular little volume (it has reached a sixtieth edition since its first publication in 1843) has rendered it difficult to positively assign it to any one. The hope that it contains is one peculiarly absent in poems relating to this period.

Let all remember Ninety-Eight, that hour of Ireland's woes—
When rapine red the land o'erspread, and flames of roof trees rose—
When pity shrieked, and ruffians wreak'd their deadly demon hate,
And gibbets groan'd, and widows moaned, in fatal Ninety-Eight!

In memory save the martyr'd brave, who fell in conflict vain,
By soldier's sword, or shameful cord, or in the convict's chain;
And those whose gore the red lash bore, when tyrants strode elate,
And pitchcaps slung, and tortures rung, strong hearts in Ninety-Eight.

When memory drear shall cease the tear for those that tyrants crushed,
May life depart our ingrate heart—our craven tongue be hushed—
And may his worst of deeds accused the despot perpetrate—
If swell not high our rallying cry—Remember Ninety-Eight!

And when the yoke, at length, is broke, that binds our island green,
And high acclaim shall swell her fame-broad oceans Emerald Green!
A column fair, of sculpture rare, shall proudly celebrate
The faithful dead, whose blood was shed in fatal Niney-Eight.

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN

MEMOIRS OF THE WELFORD LEADERS

CHAPTER IV

MEMOIR OF JOHN COLCLOUGH

TAYLOR truly describes Mr. Colclough as a gentleman of respectability, and one who bore a very excellent private character. He was a relative of Sir Vesey Colclough, who had represented Wexford and Enniscorthy in four successive parliaments. "He was in his stature of a full middle size, had rather a long visage, wore his own hair, which was tied behind. He was about thirty years of age, of a cheerful aspect and polished manners. Mr. Colclough was also executed on the 28th of June." [1] When Colclough and his lady, along with Bagenal Harvey, were brought into Wexford after their capture, the latter appeared pale and dejected; but "Mr. Colclough's fortitude," says Taylor, "did not apparently forsake him until he approached the gaol, where he beheld his friend Keogh's head on a spike. On inquiring whose

[1] Sir Richard Musgrave's History and Appendix, p. 135.

head it was, and hearing it was Keogh's, he seemed like a man electrified, and sank into all the anguish of despair *and guilt,* and never recovered any show of spirits." The only charge brought against him was, that he had been seen in the rebel forces at the battle of Ross. He admitted having been compelled to attend the general-in-chief to that place; but he proved that, at an early period of the day, he had taken the first opportunity afforded him of quitting the insurgent force, and returning to Wexford. The defence was of no avail; his death, like that of Grogan and Harvey, had been previously determined.

John Henry Colclough left a widow and an infant child. His property was not large, and, being chiefly leasehold, no attainder was issued. His widow married a Mr. Young, a magistrate of the county, the late occupier of Ballyteigue. It is stated by Sir Richard Musgrave that, a short time before his execution, he directed his son to be brought up in the Protestant religion: no such direction was ever given by Mr. Colclough. The circumstance of his being unattended at the place of execution by a clergyman of the church to which he belonged, was taken by Sir Richard Musgrave as an evidence of his conviction of "the errors of Romanism," and a probable reason for his alleged desire to have his child brought up in another religion.

The fact is that Colclough, up to the last

moment, expected a respite, from his intimacy with some of the officers of the army then at Wexford, whose interference in his behalf he relied on. This expectation prevented him from calling to his assistance a Roman Catholic clergyman; he thought if he had done so it would operate against him. It is only to be lamented that any consideration should have so far weighed with one in his awful circumstances, as to deprive him of that spiritual assistance which he stood in need of at his last moments.

One of the Wexford loyalists of the name of Jackson, who was charged with being an Orangeman, and condemned to suffer death, while the rebels were in possession of Wexford, gives the following account of Colclough's execution:

27th June, 1798.—Before I went on board the vessel I saw Mr. Colclough, who had been tried and convicted, brought by himself to the place of execution, at the bridge, between five and six o'clock this evening. As soon as he came to the foot of the gallows, he addressed the spectators with a firm, distinct voice, and without the least change of countenance, nearly as follows: "Gentlemen, I am now come to that time which is the most awful that man can experience. Thank God, I am not afraid to die! I can smile at the gallows and at the rope with which I am to be executed! I wish to feel if it be strong enough. [He took hold of the rope and proceeded.] I shall thank you, gentlemen, for a little water, as I desire to drink a toast before I die.

[Some water was immediately brought him, and he took the mug in his hand.] Here," said he, "is success to the king and constitution, and I hope my fate will be a warning to all mankind not to attempt to interfere with the order of government, or to disturb the peace of their country. As I shall answer it to God, before whom I must shortly appear [here he laid his hand upon his breast], I declare that I did not know of the rebellion breaking out till within three hours of the time when arms were taken up. But I acknowledge the justice of my sentence, for about three years ago I was one of the principal abettors in this business. I have now, gentlemen, only one favour to ask of you, which is, that you will not take off my coat and waistcoat, as I have only an old, borrowed shirt under them, and I wish to appear decently before the people." All the other criminals, it should be observed, had been stripped to their shirts before their execution.

He then knelt down and prayed a few minutes, after which he was drawn up, and I quitted the spot while he was suspended.

The persons whom I have already mentioned, and two others, were all that were executed while I remained in Wexford. Messrs. Harvey, Keughe, Grogan, and Colclough were Protestants. Mr. Colclough was of a very respectable family, and possessed considerable property in the county of Wexford, and was very much esteemed by all who knew him, as a worthy and ingenuous man.[1]

Charles Jackson, in his narrative of transactions in the Wexford rebellion, has the following

[1] "Narrative of the Sufferings and Escape of Charles Jackson," p. 57.

reference to the trials and executions on the 27th and 28th of June:

Wednesday, 27th June.—The adjourned trial of Mr. Grogan recommended, and lasted four hours (in the whole nine hours), when he was found guilty.

A party, consisting of a sergeant's guard belonging to the 29th regiment, was now ordered to march to the quay to receive Mr. Harvey and Mr. Colclough, who had been taken prisoners in the Saltee Islands; and about three o'clock this afternoon they arrived. Great numbers of officers belonging to the different corps now in the town had assembled on the quay to see men who had become so notorious.

On their landing, Mr. Harvey appeared to be very much dejected, and scarcely spoke to any one. Mr. Colclough, on the contrary, seemed to be in very good spirits. On hearing many persons inquiring which was Mr. Harvey and which Mr. Colclough, he pulled off his hat, and bowing in the most polite manner, said, "Gentlemen, my name is Colclough." They were then both taken to the gaol.

Some of the soldiers who had been of the party sent to the Saltee Islands to apprehend Mr. Harvey and Mr. Colclough, informed me that when they came to the island they found but one house upon it, in which lived an old man and family; that upon their landing they heard somebody holloa, as if to give warning to others; and they then saw the old man run across a field into his house. The soldiers followed him, and endeavoured by every entreaty to prevail upon him to discover to them the place where the fugitives were concealed, but without effect. Finding they could get no intelligence

by this mode of address, and having certain information that the persons they sought for were there, they tied him up, and gave him two dozen lashes, when he acknowledged that Mr. Colclough and Mr. Harvey were in a cave in a rock close to the sea. He then conducted them to the other side of the island, where they found the cave; but it was so situated that it was impossible to approach the fugitives without a deal of trouble and danger. It was then thought most prudent to call to Mr. Harvey, who making no answer, the commander of the party told those within that resistance was vain, that he had a large body of men with him, and should immediately order them to fire into the cave if those who were concealed there did not come out. On this Mr. Colclough appeared, and he and Mr. Harvey surrendered themselves.

The soldiers were of opinion that if he had defended himself, by firing through the chinks of the rock, he might have killed several of them before they could possibly have shot at him with any effect. When he was taken, he had an old musket, a pocket pistol, and two cutlasses. Colclough's wife was with him. There was a very neat feather-bed, blankets, and sheets, in the cave, and a keg of whiskey; also a jar of wine, a tub of butter, and some biscuits; a large pound-cake that weighed above twenty pounds, a live sheep, and a crock of pickled pork; also tea, sugar, &c. The two chests of plate were also found near the cave; these were brought in a boat to town, and placed under the care of a magistrate. Mrs. Colclough was not brought to Wexford with her husband and Mr. Harvey.

In the evening the trial of Mr. Harvey commenced,

and notwithstanding the notoriety of his guilt, such was the candour and forebearance of the court-martial that his trial lasted eight hours, when he was found guilty. . . . Mr. Colclough's trial and execution followed.

Mr. Colclough was in stature of a full, middle size; but rather of a long visage. He wore his own hair, which was of a sandy colour, and tied behind. He was about thirty years of age, of a cheerful aspect, and of pleasant manners.

Gordon states that "Harvey and Grogan were executed together on the 28th of June; Colclough, alone, in the evening of the same day." Hay states that Grogan and Harvey and a Mr. Pendergast, a rich malster of Wexford, were executed on the 27th of June; and that Colclough was tried the same day and executed the day after, the 28th of June.

I discovered the tomb of John Henry Colclough in the old burial-ground of the church in Wexford (no longer existing) that was called St. Patrick's Church, after many fruitless inquiries, strange to say, of all the persons in the town who might have been expected to know where the remains of their judicially-murdered townsmen were buried. The following is the inscription on his tomb:

Here lieth the body of John Henry Colclough,
Of Ballyteigue, who departed this life
The 27th of June, 1798,
In his 29th year.

In the same place of burial there is a tomb with the following inscription—perhaps in memory of one of the family of Bagenal Beauchamp Harvey:

Captain Pierce Harvey, died
The 23rd of October, 1816,
Aged 87 years.

There is also in this churchyard a monument "To the memory of the North Cork militia officers killed at Oulart."

A kinsman of John Henry Colclough, Mr. John Colclough of Tintern Abbey, was the nephew of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, and in 1798 was at the head of the family interest, which was very considerable, in the county of Wexford. Before the outbreak of the insurrection he and Mr. Thomas M'Cord, a respectable gentleman of the same county, left Ireland, and had taken up their abode at Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire. It was respecting their residence there that a remarkable correspondence took place, which I now refer to.

The Duke of Portland addressed the following letter to the magistrates at Haverfordwest:

Whitehall, 22nd June, 1798.

Gentlemen—I have received your letter on the subject of the late influx of persons in your county from Ireland, and am extremely sorry to observe that there are so many young clergymen and able-bodied men among them. The conduct of such persons, in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the present, is

very much to be censured; and I desire that you will use your best endeavours to impress them with a due sense of the dangerous tendency of such an example, and of the dishonourable and disgraceful imputations to which it obviously exposes them; and, at the same time, that you will make known to the clergy that their names will certainly be reported to their respective diocesans. With respect to Mr. Colclough and Mr. M'Cord, I desire that they may have full liberty either to go to Ireland or to stay in the country; and that all persons for whom they will answer, as well as all infirm men, women, and children, may be admitted to the same indulgence. I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

PORTLAND.

When the Wexford gentlemen got information of this correspondence, the Protestant gentlemen of the county were summoned to a general meeting in the town of Wexford, on the 7th of July, 1798, by General Lake. A copy of the duke's letter was laid before them: Dr. Duigenan says they were all struck with amazement, and they determined unanimously to send a letter to the duke on the subject, of which the following is a copy—it was signed by the high sheriff of the county:

To Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, at Haverfordwest.

The committee of gentlemen of the county of Wexford, appointed by General Lake, having read a copy of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to Messrs. Bowen and Jordan, magistrates in the town of

Haverfordwest, South Wales, dated 22nd June ult., and which appears to have been in answer to a letter received by his grace from those gentlemen, cannot avoid testifying their hearty sorrow at the censure thrown upon the clergy of their diocese in said letter, and their indignation at the gross misrepresentations which must have occasioned it. They are unanimous in a high opinion of the loyalty, patriotism, and proper conduct of the clergy, and strongly feel the necessity of their flight and absence during the continuance of the rebellion which so unhappily raged in this country; as, had they not effected their escape, they have every reason to conclude that they would have shared a similar fate with those unhappy few of that body who early fell into the hands of the insurgents, and were afterwards massacred in cold blood.

They lament that men of such unblemished character and conduct should, from the secret representations of persons no way qualified, be proscribed that protection and asylum so liberally bestowed on the persons of Mr. John Colclough and Thomas M'Cord, men who were and might have remained in perfect security in his majesty's fort at Duncannon, and whose characters are by no means free from imputation in this country, and on whom they are sorry to find such favour lavished by the English cabinet; as they are certain no favourable account of their conduct could be made to government, save by themselves.

EDWARD PERCIVALL,
Sheriff, and Chairman of the Committee.

Wexford, 7th July, 1798.

To His Grace the Duke of Portland, Whitehall.

To this letter his grace never condescended to return any answer.

The following paragraph was inserted in the Waterford newspaper of the 10th July, 1798:

Yesterday, Mr. John Colclough of Tintern Castle, county of Wexford, was brought here from Milford, in custody of two king's messengers; he was escorted by a party of the Union cavalry to Thomastown, on his way to Dublin. Mr. M'Cord, who was implicated in the charge for which the former was apprehended, had made off; but it is said that there was no probability of his avoiding the vigilance of his pursuers. These are the two gentlemen who were spoken so favourably of in a letter from the Duke of Portland to Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, of Haverfordwest.[1]

CLERICUS WEXFORDIENSIS.

[1] Dr. Duigenan's "Fair Representations," &c., p. 227.

CHAPTER V

MEMOIR OF CORNELIUS GROGAN, ESQ., OF JOHNSTOWN, COUNTY WEXFORD

CORNELIUS GROGAN, of Johnstown Castle in the county Wexford, was fourth in descent from John Grogan, Esq., son of John Geoghegan of the county Antrim, settled in the county Wexford.

Cornelius Grogan, born cir. 1738, J.P., and grand juror of the county Wexford, filled the office of high sheriff for the county, and was returned for the borough of Enniscorthy in 1769 (for which borough his father had sat in parliament in the preceding year for the last time), and for six years Cornelius Grogan represented that borough. In 1777 he ceased to be a member of parliament. He died unmarried.

He was judicially murdered on the bridge of Wexford, the 27th of June, 1798, in pursuance of the sentence of a court-martial confirmed by Lord Cornwallis.

His vast estates were confiscated a few weeks after his decease, Lord Cornwallis being then chief governor, civil and military, of Ireland.

The attainder was reversed, and the confiscated

property restored, after many years' solicitation on the part of his brother, John Knox Grogan, who died in possession of it in 1814.

John Grogan was succeeded by the last survivor of the issue by his second marriage with Miss Fitzgerald.

The following account of Messrs. Grogan, Harvey, and Colclough has been communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Vicary of Wexford, a clergyman of the Established Church, of enlightened views and literary attainments:

Cornelius Grogan lived at Johnstown Castle, in the parish of Rathaspeck, within two miles of the town of Wexford. This gentleman was much respected, an excellent magistrate and exemplary landlord, discharging the duties of property and of social life, which was rather rare at the period, so as to command the affection and respect of a wide neighbourhood. But the qualities of Mr. Grogan's mind were those of a simple country gentleman. It possessed nothing polished or brilliant. He possessed no political principles or talents which would have rendered him dangerous to the ruling powers; indeed there was every reason why he should be actuated towards the British government by the most solid and friendly feelings. He had a large fortune; his stake in the country was immense; and therefore, if he was swayed by common prudence, as no doubt he was, it was not likely that he would commit himself by any absolutely treasonable act, so as to compromise his fortune, position, and safety. Mr. Grogan was an old man, and had so far fallen into the habit of

the times as to permit men to meet at his house whose objects were unfriendly to the cause of order; but it is unlikely that Mr. Grogan was a party to them. His house and table were made use of, inasmuch as the parties who assembled there would be beyond the reach of suspicion. Mr. Grogan's family had been always eminently loyal, and, in the unfortunate movement of '98, one of his brothers fell fighting manfully for the crown. The account that I have heard in the neighbourhood is, that upon the alarm of the rebels' approach, he, along with many others, was on the road, retiring to a place of safety, the fort of Duncannon; but upon the road he reflected upon the immense quantity of money, plate, &c., that was left totally exposed at Johnstown, he therefore returned to put them in some place of safety, hoping to rejoin the flying loyalists in the morning. That evening or night, some of his old friends came to the castle and prevailed upon an old and naturally fearful man to remain, telling him that he would be safe in his own house. The fact is, that very many in various positions in life were compelled by untoward circumstances to take an apparent interest in the rebel schemes, to preserve their own lives and those of their families. They had not the force of mind to be martyrs, and they had every trust, when those miserable events had blown away, to resume that station in society they had previously occupied of faithful members of a free constitution. Mr. Grogan was one of these. He was forced to visit the rebel camp in his carriage, and issued some orders to bring in cattle for their maintenance. But could it for a moment be thought that the atrocities of the bridge, and actions of a like stamp,

could produce anything but horror in his mind? To no one, I have not the smallest doubt, was more welcome the booming of the cannon along the waters of the Slaney, which heralded the victorious approach of the troops of the line, than to him. The sound implied deliverance to him in its fullest sense, as surely as to the prisoners immured in the stifling gaol or the prison-ship.

But justice does not often accompany victorious armies, or calm inquiry characterise their proceedings. It was determined to amnesty the multitude, and to destroy the leaders; and inasmuch as Mr. Grogan had been seen in company with Bagenal Harvey, Captain Keugh, and Father Roach, hardly any other proof was required—his case was prejudged, and the motives of personal safety that urged him for awhile to conceal his true character overlooked. A court-martial was summoned, and Mr. Grogan condemned to a felon's death. So little did Mr. Grogan expect any such issue, that he made no efforts for escape or concealment, and when some companies came to arrest him he came down at once, unaware of the consequences. In fact, his fate can hardly be regarded otherwise than a judicial murder. Examples were required by government—they did not think they could get a better than Cornelius Grogan; but the part of example was lost, as the thousands who looked on at his execution or mangled remains knew that he was in his heart true to the king, while the really guilty escaped.

The place of execution was the arch of the doorway of the bridge. There Mr. Colclough of Ballyteigue, Mr. Grogan, Bagenal Harvey, and Captain Keugh, died by the executioner. They were shortly after decapi-

tated, and the heads were placed on pillars or spears in the court-house, which at that time was situated in the Bull Ring. At night, a few faithful friends were found who dragged the river for their bodies, and gave them burial. But from what I can hear, I understand that Mr. Grogan's body was ceded to some friend; he was thence taken to the family burial-ground, Rathaspeck churchyard, which adjoins the demesne of Johnstown, and there quietly interred. An old domestic, Devereux by name, after some time got possession of the head, and in an unmarked grave, without headstone or epitaph, the poor old gentleman's relics are united, sleeping calmly beyond the reach of violence or injustice!

Those who have looked on these four heads in the market-place have by no means, after the lapse of half-a-century, yet forgotten the spectacle; and some who have related the matter to me were melted to tears. Mr. Grogan was old, and his hair very long, so that it rested on his shoulders, and white as the winter's snow. This, with the wind, floated about, and the sight was suggestive of nothing but commiseration. Could they not have spared his few declining years, or had some respect to these patriarchal hairs blanched by so many winters, and, in the opinion of many, as untarnished as his reputation. With one in the yellow leaf of life, the grave could not have been long behind, and I envy not the court or the executioner that could have violated those silver locks, or disregarded their touching appeal!

Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey resided at Bargay Castle, one of the finest remains of the Cromwellian period in the county Wexford. He was a gentleman of easy fortune and of superior education. He was all

along disaffected to the government, and received at his house the chiefs of the movement, the Sheares, and many of the future leaders in the rebellion. Along with much energy, he possessed great obstinacy of character. He entered heart and soul in the business of '98, and in the printed programme of the rebel proceedings the name at the Fort was B. Bagenal Harvey, commander-in-chief. He, along with Mr. Colclough, escaped to the Saltee Islands, a small group, opposite the south-eastern point of the county Wexford. They occupied a cave, and if they had adopted prudent precautions they might have remained until some vessel had been engaged to take them off. They were, however, discovered by the smoke coming from the cave; taken and tried by court-martial; and suffered along with Cornelius Grogan. The family burial-place of the Harveys is Moyglass, but Mr. Harvey, having no friend to brave danger for him, was after some time buried in the churchyard of St. Patrick's Church, lying about the centre of the town of Wexford, a necropolis attached to one of those numerous religious edifices which still exist within the precincts of the borough.

Cloney, who had full opportunity of knowing Mr. Grogan's character and position, and the circumstances in which he was placed in 1798, thus speaks of him:

The treatment which Mr. Cornelius Grogan and Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey experienced was almost equally cruel, and their condemnation equally unjust. Mr. Grogan was a Protestant gentleman of very large fortune, his estates producing at least £10,000 a-year.

He was advanced in life, perhaps over seventy years of age, and infirm. Early in life he was a friend of civil and religious liberty, and one of those appointed by a public meeting held in Wexford in March, 1795, to proceed to London with a petition to his majesty, praying him to continue Earl Fitzwilliam in the administration of the Irish government; he was therefore, as a friend to equal laws, a lover of justice, and an enemy to local oppression, personally obnoxious to the vile retainers of the Irish oligarchy, who then let loose "the whirlwind and rode upon the storm of civil desolation in the county of Wexford." It was not until the occupation of the county town by the insurgents that this venerable gentleman was called to join, and his constrained adhesion was obtained in the following manner: The farmers and their families inhabiting the baronies of Forth and Bargay had been most cruelly outraged by the king's troops in their retreat from Wexford to Duncannon Fort, although those people were at the time remaining quietly in their houses, and, with the exception of a few individuals, had taken no part whatever in the insurrection. The atrocities of the military had however so enraged this simple race, that they immediately congregated in immense numbers, armed themselves with such weapons as they could hastily procure, and were proceeding to head-quarters at Wexford for instructions. On their road to Wexford they halted near Johnstown, where Mr. Grogan lived, and sent a detachment to his house to require that he should join the people, and if he refused to comply with this request voluntarily, the leader of the detachment was instructed to enforce his attendance. Had this venerable man re-

fused on that day to accompany those messengers sent to bring him forth by entreaty or compulsion, his instantaneous execution would probably have followed his refusal. He was therefore constrained, that he might save his life (although extremely ill in a fit of the gout), to order his horse from the stable, which he mounted; and having joined the assembled multitude, then waiting for him in the vicinity of his demesne, he accompanied them to Wexford. While he remained there he was totally incapacitated, by his age and infirmities, from assuming or acting in any military character, and when a fit opportunity offered, by the departure of the insurgents from the town, he repaired to his family mansion at Johnstown.

So unconscious was this venerable and excellent man of having been guilty of a crime, that he remained at home until he was arrested by a party sent from Wexford, which conveyed him into that town, and committed him to prison.

On the 26th of June he was brought to trial before that execrable tribunal which then existed in Wexford, convicted of being an insurgent leader, and sentenced to suffer death. It was proved on his trial, by unimpeachable witnesses, that he was compelled at the peril of his life to join the insurgents, and the only shadow of proof adduced to criminate him was in the testimony of a man who swore that he had supplied provisions to the commissariat. On the day after his conviction the sentence of the court-martial was carried into execution by hanging him on the bridge of Wexford. As soon as life was extinct he was taken down from the temporary gallows on which he had suffered death, his head

cut off, his body stripped naked, and after being treated with most scandalous indignities, by a rabble composed of yeomen and soldiers, it was flung into the river. When he was proceeding or rather hobbling from the gaol to the place of execution—as he was hardly able to walk with his gouty feet—he and Mr. Harvey cordially shook hands. The latter—who appeared to be quite unmanned, more on account of Mr. Grogan's fate than his own—said to him, "My dear Grogan, you indeed suffer death innocently." The fact which I shall now state is so incredible, that were it not capable of proof, from minutes taken in the Irish House of Commons when the act of attainder was passed against Mr. Grogan and Mr. Harvey, and their properties confiscated by that parricidal gang which then legislated for Ireland—it would scarcely be received as truth in a community of savages. The members of the court-martial which tried those two lamented gentlemen—bound as they must have conscientiously been by their honour to discharge their duties conformable to martial law—regardless of the high characters and unblemished reputation of their prisoners and of their exalted rank, and setting at nought the awful considerations of temporal infamy and eternal reprobation, took special care to avoid being sworn, as they should have been, "to administer justice according to the evidence," and thus, without even complying with the necessary judicial forms, did they consign to death and attaint two gentlemen in whose veins ran the best blood of our country.

Truly Orangeism had great reason to be proud of its vast power and state privileges. The faction of the ascendancy in Ireland could lay their

hands on any gentleman in the land outside of their pale, no matter how innocent he might be—how exalted—how well known for his attachment to the Protestant religion and the principles which placed the house of Hanover on the throne of England. They might bring to the scaffold any man of any quality or any category in Ireland against whom they had a grudge or a prejudice. They might cause the life to be sworn away of such men as Sir Edward Crosbie and Cornelius Grogan without remonstrance or rebuke.

In 1779, Mr. Cornelius Grogan filled the office of high sheriff for the county of Wexford. He sat in parliament for Enniscorthy, and on the dissolution of parliament in 1790, he offered himself for the county of Wexford, and lost it by a small majority. He had two brothers in the yeomanry; the eldest, Captain Thomas Knox Grogan, was killed at the head of his corps by the rebels at the battle of Arklow; the other, Captain John Grogan, in 1796, chiefly at his own expense, raised the corps of the Healthfield cavalry, and had been badly wounded in an action with the rebels. Yet the services of these men to their king and country could not save their respected and venerable brother, then upwards of seventy years of age, from an ignominious death. Of his innocence of the crime laid to his charge there could not have been the shadow of a doubt on the minds of those who conspired against his life.

With respect to the attainder in his case, Sir Jonah Barrington observes:

The only charge the government (to excuse the culpability of General Lake) could prove was his having been surrounded by the insurgent army, which placed him under surveillance, and who, to give importance to themselves, forced him one day into the town of Wexford on horseback—a peasant of the name of Savage attending him with a blunderbuss, with orders to shoot him if he refused to obey their commands. Against his will they nominated him a commissary, knowing that his numerous tenantry would be more willing in consequence to supply them. He used no weapon of any description—too feeble even to hold one in his hand.

A lady of the name of Segrave gave evidence that her family in the town were in want of food, and that she went to Mr. Grogan to give her an order for some bread, which request, to save her family from starving, he reluctantly complied with. Through that order she procured some loaves, and supplied her children; and for that act of benevolence, and on that lady's evidence, Mr. Grogan was sentenced to die as a traitor, and was immediately hanged and beheaded, when unable to walk to the place of execution, and already almost lifeless from age, imprisonment, pain, and brutal treatment. It appeared before parliament, upon interrogating the president of the court, that the members of the court-martial which tried him had not been sworn; that they were only seven instead of thirteen, the usual number; that his material witness was shot by the military while on the road between Johnstown Castle and Wexford, to

give evidence of Mr. Grogan's entire innocence; and that while General Lake was making merry at dinner (with his staff and some members of the court that condemned him), one of the first gentlemen in the county (in every point far his superior) was hanged and mutilated almost before his windows. The author's intimate knowledge of Mr. Cornelius Grogan for many years enables him to assert most unequivocally—and it is but justice to his memory to do so—that though a person of independent mind as well as fortune, and an opposition member of the Irish parliament, he was no more a rebel than his brothers, who had signalized themselves in battle as royalists, and the survivor of whom was rewarded by the same government by an unprecedented bill of attainder against that unfortunate gentleman long after he was dead, by which his great estates were confiscated to the crown.

This attainder bill was one of the most illegal and unconstitutional acts ever promoted by any government; but after much more than £10,000 costs to crown officers, and to Lord Norbury as attorney-general, had been extracted from the property, the estates were restored to the surviving brother.

Sir Richard Musgrave, in commenting on the charges brought against him of acting as commissary-general of the rebel army, declares, "It is most certain that this unfortunate gentleman never acted but from compulsion."

Cornelius Grogan dying without issue—when the attainder was reversed, the property was re-

stored to his nephew, John Grogan, and at his death went to his son, G. Grogan Morgan, the late proprietor of Johnstown Castle.

Charles Jackson in his narrative makes the following reference to Grogan's position:

Having described the three principal officers among the rebels, I shall add a short account of Mr. Grogan, a man of property in the county Wexford.

Mr. Cornelius Grogan was a gentleman of, I believe, near sixty years of age, and was considered to be one of the richest men in the county. He resided at a place called Johnstown, near three miles from Wexford, where he had a very large estate, some hundred acres of which were inclosed in a deer-park. He bore an exceeding good character among his tenantry, but was always thought to be of a retired and remarkably near disposition. He had never been known to take an active part in political matters, but passed most of his time in trying mechanical experiments, and was esteemed to be very ingenious. He had two younger brothers, each of whom was colonel of a corps of yeomen, and of approved loyalty. One of them was killed charging the rebels at the head of his corps, and the other was wounded in a like situation. In person he was of the middle size, and had a morose countenance.

Jackson thus refers to the execution of Grogan and Harvey:

Thursday, June 28th.—This morning about ten o'clock, Mr. Harvey and Mr. Grogan, and a Mr. Pendergast, a very rich merchant, were brought to the place of execution on the bridge. When they arrived at

the fatal spot, Mr. Harvey, in a very low tone of voice spoke to the gentlemen who stood round him. He declared that if he had the least idea that such enormities and murders would have been committed upon the Protestants as had been, he would have had no concern in the business. He seemed to be very penitent, and was very loth to die, endeavouring all he could to delay the execution. Mr. Grogan asked Mr. Harvey if he had not been forced to join the rebels, to which Mr. Harvey answered, "Yes." (This I did not hear, but a person who stood nearer to him assured me of it.)

Mr. Grogan at this moment expressed a desire to see his brother, Colonel John Grogan, who accordingly came to him. They took each other by the hand and bid a last farewell.

The prisoners then knelt down, prayed a few minutes, and were then launched into eternity. After they had hung ten minutes they were taken down, and the heads of Mr. Harvey and Mr. Grogan were cut off, after which the three bodies were thrown into the river. The heads of Mr. Harvey and Mr. Grogan were fixed on each side of that of Captain Keugh, on the top of the court-house.

Lord Lake survived the glories of his Wexford campaign about ten years. He died in London, in February, 1808, and had the consolation and honour of being visited in his dying moments by the prince regent. The writer of the notice of his lordship's death in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for February, 1808, observes, "The brave spirit of the noble and gallant soldier, immediately after

the consoling visit of the prince regent, took its departure for another and a better world"—to which, it might be added, he had sent in rather a summary manner, it must be confessed, an old gentleman innocent of any crime against the state, but guilty of liberal principles and a plentiful estate, of the name of Cornelius Grogan.

Such was the fate of three gentlemen of the highest respectability, of ample fortune, of honourable principles—against whom, at the period of their first arrests, not one criminal act could be imputed, and the sole cause of the suspicion of whose loyalty, at the outbreak of the insurrection, and up to the period of Sir Jonah Barrington's prophetic speculations, consisted in their supposed adherence to the opinions of the opposition party, and their presumed attachment to the cause of parliamentary reform. For these "high crimes and misdemeanours," in the eyes of an Irish administration, they were permitted to be "sacrificed in the confusion of the times." Could these things have happened in England? could they have happened in any other country than Ireland? can the recurrence of such acts ever again be dreaded in that country? These are questions that must naturally suggest themselves to the people of both countries. With respect to the latter inquiry—so long as Ireland is not governed for a faction, but for the interests of the great body of the people, the question is one, the

solution of which can only be inimical to the views of those who attach more importance to the intolerant and intolerable pretensions of that faction than to the integrity of the British empire.

CHAPTER VI

MEMOIR OF CAPTAIN KEUGH

JACKSON, in his personal narrative of the Wexford rebellion, says:

Mr. Keugh, who was made by the rebels governor of Wexford, was originally a drummer in his majesty's army (I believe in the 33rd regiment), and during the American war had been advanced from that station to the rank of captain. He had quitted the army, and actually received half-pay at the time the rebellion broke out; was about fifty-four years of age, rather above the middle size, and might be called a well-looking man. His head was quite bald in the front, and he wore his hair, which was remarkably white, tied behind. He had very much the appearance and manner of a gentleman—was married to a very handsome woman, much younger than himself—had no children, and was comfortably situated in a very good house in George's-street, Wexford. When the rebellion broke out on Whit-Sunday, on the alarm being given he volunteered in one of the yeomanry corps, and was actually employed the evening of that day in establishing fortifications to repulse the insurgents; and on the day following he was appointed to command a party of volunteers which was to guard one of the entrances to the town; yet, on the rebels taking possession of the town, he joined them,

and was appointed chief governor, and continued in that situation till his majesty's troops obtained possession of it. Numbers of prisoners who had been seized in the country were carried before him officially, previous to their being committed to gaol.

24th June 1798.—The courts-martial for the trials of the prisoners also began this day. Captain Keugh, who had been rebel governor of the town, was convicted. It may seem strange that he who had been in so conspicuous a situation should not have made his escape when the king's troops approached towards the town; but he expected to have secured his safety by negotiation, as appears by the following proposal which he transmitted to General Lake:

"That Captain McManus [1] shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants, of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms we hope Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

(Signed)

"By order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

"Matt Keugh."

1 "Captain M'Manus was an officer in the Antrim militia, and had been confined in Wexford gaol by the rebels. Mr. E. Hay was captain in the North Cork militia, and was under confinement with Lord Kingsborough. It was supposed by Captain

Lieutenant-General Lake returned an answer to Mr. Keugh's proposal, declaring he could not attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign, and while they continued so he must use the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction.

Lord Lake kept his word with a vengeance. He caused this loyal and most humane man to be judicially murdered by a court-martial.

Eight other rebels (says Jackson) were convicted the same day that Captain Keugh was found guilty. One of these was Father Roach, a priest, who had particularly distinguished himself among the rebels, by his example in leading them on to battle, by religious exhortations, and by his assurances of the certain effects of those consecrated charms which, if they wore them in the face of their enemies, he said would protect them from danger. They were all sentenced to be hanged the next day at eleven o'clock, at the bridge where the Protestants had been so cruelly murdered.

In the course of this day a considerable number of rebels were taken up and committed to gaol.

Monday, June 25.—Captain Keugh, Father Roach, and the seven other convicted rebels were brought to the bridge of Wexford at eleven o'clock, according to the sentence passed on them. The crowd assembled was very great—which I mention, as I wish to remark how different the conduct of the spectators on this melancholy

Keugh that an application through these officers would have better effect."

occasion was, when compared with the licentious and inhuman fury of that mob which surrounded and witnessed the massacre of the Protestants. Those victims, while on their way to execution, were deafened by the exultations and oppressed by the insults of the savage-minded men and women who in droves pressed upon them on all sides. What a reverse did the present scene exhibit! Recent as were the injuries which had been sustained by those who were not liberated from prison, and inflamed as the minds of the various sufferers by the rebellion may be supposed to have been, yet not a reflection was cast upon any of the convicts, nor a gesture seen that could disturb them at this awful moment. The sentiment which produced such decorum, at such a time, evidently proceeded from the temperate and humane manner in which the law was put in force by the commander-in-chief, and against those rebels whose conduct was most flagitious.

Captain Keugh made a speech of some length, which, as I was not near to him, I could not hear. I was informed it chiefly tended to exculpate him from the ignominy of being supposed to have taken any part in those cruelties which had been committed by the rebels, which, on the contrary, he said, he had always used his utmost exertions to prevent. He desired that the Rev. Mr. Elgee, the Protestant minister, might be sent for, which request was immediately granted. With him Captain Keugh continued some time in prayer. He then was executed; and after having hung about a quarter of an hour, was cut down and the head separated from the body, which was cast into the river in the same place

where the bodies of the murdered Protestants had been thrown. His head was fixed upon a pike, and placed upon the court-house.

Happily, such is the horror which every human being that is not in the most depraved state has of cruelty and murder, that anxiety to wipe away the stain of such a reproach is commonly observed to operate upon men in their last moments. Thus it was with Mr. Keugh, and to a certain degree I give him credit; but this I must say, that on the day when I with the two other Protestants were called out and forced to execute Murphy, as the procession passed the custom-house I observed Captain Keugh on the quay, with a great number of pikemen formed in a line. When we passed him, he saluted the guard after the military manner. As I knew him well before the rebellion from his having been accustomed to call upon me at my shop, I did all in my power by gestures to attract his attention and move his compassion, but without effect—he would not look at me. Thus if he did not perpetrate he assented to the horrid murders which were committed, which renders his justification doubtful.

Father Roach, the Roman Catholic priest who was executed with Captain Keugh, was brother to General Roach. He was a man of uncommon stature, and was so heavy that the first rope by which he was suspended broke.

Keugh on his trial (says Sir Richard Musgrave), made a very able defence, during the whole of which he was cool and deliberate, and so eloquent and pathetic as to excite the most tender emotions in the breasts of his auditors. Lord Kingsborough, Mr. Le Hunte, and

other respectable witnesses proved that he acted on all occasions with singular humanity, and endeavoured to prevent the effusion of blood, and that they owed their lives to his active interference. He said, "That after the massacre on the evening of the 20th of June, he was sitting in his own house, when he received the following message from the commander-in-chief, Roach, the priest, by Thomas Dixon, that as he was leaving town on particular business, he ordered him, under pain of death, on the next morning before twelve o'clock, to put to death one hundred more of the prisoners in the same manner that ninety-seven had suffered that day." He then stated that his brother, who had lived many years in his house, and had long served the king with reputation as an officer, was as noted for his loyalty as for every moral virtue. That, on hearing the sanguinary mandate of Roach delivered by Dixon, he ordered himself to be put to bed, as from feebleness and decrepitude he had not been able for many years to move from one place to another. That, next morning, he crept all-fours to the governor's apartment in his absence, where, having found a case of pistols, he blew out his brains. He was frequently interrupted in the course of this doleful narration by crying and sobbing. He declared that his only object was to reform and improve the constitution, but that Popish fanaticism had defeated his designs, and borne down everything. He lamented that he had totally neglected the cultivation of the Protestant religion, in which he had been bred; however, he was attended in his last moments by a Protestant clergyman. After having prayed devoutly on his knees, he rose, and then prayed aloud and fervently for the

king and royal family, and that his majesty might long sit upon the throne, and that the constitution in church and state might never be overthrown. His pathetic eloquence and strength of argument on his trial moved the audience so much, that a general officer who was present ran hastily to General Lake and requested that he might be respited; but the general assured him that he found among his papers sufficient indications of his guilt.[1]

There was living in Wexford (says Cloney), at the time the insurgents took possession of it, an aged gentleman named Kew, who had served in the army, and was then a retired officer on half-pay. As a person supposed to be conversant in the practice of military men in the maintenance of discipline, he was called on to assist in framing regulations for the preservation of public order, and for enforcing strict subordination of the different posts which were occupied in the town by the popular force. In the two-fold capacity of a civil magistrate and military commander he acted until the town surrendered to General Lake, when he was arrested, committed to prison, and brought to trial. He made a most able defence, proving, not only that he was compelled to accept the office he held at the hazard of his life, but that his exertions had been of the utmost consequence in preserving the lives and properties of the inhabitants.

These powerful justifications of his conduct did not avail him before that motley tribunal which sat in judgment on so many virtuous and innocent men in Wex-

1 "Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland," by Sir Richard Musgrave, p. 506.

ford. He was sentenced to die, and was executed on the bridge with the Rev. Philip Roach. He was decapitated, and, like the other prisoners, both their bodies stripped naked, treated with the most indecent brutality, and thrown into the river.

CHAPTER VII

MEMOIR OF JOHN KELLY

THE Rev. Gordon tells us that:

Among the Romantist leaders of the rebellion executed at the time of its suppression at Wexford was Kelly of Killaun, already mentioned as conductor of that column which entered the town of Ross. This young man was worthy of a far better cause and better associates, his courage and humanity being equal and conspicuous. But the display of humanity by a rebel was in general, in the trials by court-martial, by no means regarded as a circumstance in favour of the accused. Strange as it may seem in times of cool reflection, it was very frequently urged as a proof of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved a loyalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder, was considered as having influence among the rebels—consequently, a rebel commander.[1]

John Kelly of Killaun, the son of a respectable shopkeeper and farmer, at the foot of Blackstairs Mountain —as brave an Irishman as ever trod the battle-field— was about 25 years of age, and in the action at Ross, as I have before mentioned, was severely wounded in one

[1] "History of the Rebellion in Ireland," by Rev. James Gordon, p. 186.

of his thighs. He was conveyed to Wexford that he might have the benefit of medical assistance, where he remained until the town was entered by the king's troops. Greatly reduced by the keenness of his sufferings, he lay confined to his bed when the messengers of death visited his lodgings. They forced him from his bed, and had him carried before the insatiable court-martial, where his trial was brief and his condemnation immediate. At the place of execution, to which he was drawn on a car, the rabble of mercenaries that crowded to the spot gave full scope to their inhuman propensities, by rolling his head along the street until they brought it opposite the windows of a house in which an afflicted sister of his lodged, when they raised it from the pavement, and launched it into the air with savage yells of exultation. Let the English people attend to this appalling fact—that savages could be found to torture the feelings of a respectable, amiable, and well-educated female, who had spent many weary days and nights watching the bedside of a beloved brother, whose long sufferings and still painful wound, she expected, would command for him the compassion—at least forbearance until a recovery would take place—of men calling themselves gentlemen and Christians; but Christian feeling and mercy were strangers to their savage bosoms. I ask, can the enemies of the people adduce one act of atrocity on their part equalled by this? No; I defy them. If dread passion and revenge unfortunately too often drove them to commit acts of cruelty, both the persons and feelings of females were always respected with the tenderest scrupulosity.

The brave Kelly's head was afterwards placed by

Captain Kew's in front of the court-house. Mr. Kelly had been equally active and successful during his martial progress in preserving the lives and properties of his Protestant countrymen; yet, be it told to the disgrace of human nature that his ingrate prosecutor was a person whose life he had saved.[2]

[2] Cloney.

CHAPTER VIII

MEMOIR OF EDWARD ROACH

GENERAL EDWARD ROACH (says Luke Cullen) was born in the townland of Garalough, four miles north of Wexford, and two south of the residence of his friend, Fitzgerald of Newpark. He was of a highly respectable family which descended from the first English settlers. A large tract of that country extending from Castlebridge towards Enniscorthy, on the left bank of the Slaney, was early possessed by the Roaches, and got the name of Roacheland, which it bears to this day. He was also very extensive in the corn and malting trade, and was a wealthy man. His wife was as great a patriot. He was, from what I have heard, a well-educated man, considering the time. He certainly was a man of superior mental powers. He was considered one of the most generous and off-handed of men. He was a man of high spirit and honourable principles, as indeed his whole family have been noted for those qualities.

The butcheries in Dunlavin and Carnew, and the exploits of Hunter Gowan's and Hawtrey White's cavalry, the flogging of the Rev. Father Dixon, and Archy Jacob's flogging of the men in the village of Ballagheen, had no small influence on the mind of Mr. Roach and on his conduct on the morning of the 27th of May, when he met the insurgent force at the village of Ballynamanacy,

about midway between Garalough and Oulart Hill, in his full uniform, and a few more of his corps; and at that battle he did all that he possibly could do, in conjunction with Mr. Morgan Byrne, to keep his men firm and steady at the onset.

On the 20th of June, it was determined on by the commanders of the insurgent forces to bring up the Shelmaliers from Wexford to the camp at Vinegar Hill—for a general engagement was certain to commence next morning—and General Edward Roach was deputed for that service. He left Enniscorthy on the afternoon of that day. He made a rapid march to the camp at Threerock Mountain, and thence into the town of Wexford, to collect the scattered men of the Shelmaliers. This was a far more difficult task than was at first imagined. Difficulties were raised about the march to Vinegar Hill. A great number of people from his own neighborhood (which was about four miles to the north side of the Slaney) had gone home from both encampments, and to that place he rode, leaving at the same time orders to march off what men were in readiness. A number of them did assemble on the quays and on the bridge of Wexford, and dispersed again; and when Roach returned at a late hour he found no preparation for marching. The night passed without much sleep or refreshment, and as the day dawned he was again endeavouring to marshal the men, but was unable to get them to march until about the time the battle commenced. As soon as they heard the cannon, the greatest exertion was made to reach the camp. But when they arrived at a place called Darby's Gap, about two miles from Enniscorthy, on the left side of the Slaney,

they met their friends retreating. Here he endeavoured to draw up his horsemen, with a small column of foot to support them, in order to check the pursuit; but this hasty arrangement was soon broken. The royal cavalry was in full pursuit, and cutting down every human being that fell in their way. But the fire from Roach's horse checked them; and although the little column of infantry that he formed did not preserve their order, yet they formed small parties of sixes, tens, or twenties, and from behind the cross ditches they frequently stopped and fired on their pursuers. Roach still kept on with his small squadron of horse between both parties, and at length the pursuit ceased.

He regained Wexford, and marched the same evening with the northern division of their army, and so on through the county Wicklow. His lady rode alongside with him, and clung to his fortune with extraordinary devotion. Mr. Roach surrendered in August to Brigade-Major Fitzgerald on condition of being transported.

Edward Roach (says Jones), who was appointed general, was a middling country farmer near Wexford, and before the rebellion was permanent sergeant in Colonel Le Hunte's corps of yeoman cavalry. He was not much taller than Bagenal Harvey, but a great deal more corpulent, and about forty years old.[1]

[1] John Jones' "Narrative of Engagements with the Rebels," &c., p. 38.

CHAPTER IX

MEMOIR OF EDWARD AND JOHN HAY

IN "Cox's Irish Magazine" for August, 1808, we have a sketch of the career of Edward Hay up to that period, the materials for which, I have reason to know, were furnished by Mr. Edward Hay, and from that notice I therefore take the following extracts:

Edward Hay was born about the year 1761, in the village of Ballinkeel, county Wexford. He is descended from the house of Hay in Scotland, of which the Earls of Errol are the heads. This ancient family was ennobled by Kenneth III. for the bravery of an old chieftain, who, with his sons, distinguished themselves in resisting the plundering Danes.

At an early age, Mr. Hay was sent to the Continent to receive an education suitable to his respectable line of life, which vandal legislators had denied him at home. After prosecuting his studies in Germany and France with success, he returned to his native country, and joined himself and embarked his talents with those Catholic gentlemen who assembled for the purpose of procuring from parliament some relaxation of those savage penal laws which so grievously oppressed the great body of the Irish people.

In 1791, Mr. Hay was delegated by his native county to the general committee of Catholics, whose represen-

tation to the empire and to the king were so explanatory of the degraded state they held in the country, that his majesty was pleased to recommend their case to the legislature; and, in 1793, several of the most odious of the penal laws were repealed.

In 1793, when the county of Wexford was seriously agitated, Mr. Hay, with the other gentlemen of the county, by their unwearied diligence and seasonable promptness, succeeded in quelling an alarming disposition to insurrection which manifested itself among the lower orders by several daring acts, in one of which the unfortunate Major Valloten fell, at the head of his regiment.

During the short administration of Lord Fitzwilliam, in 1795, the Catholics of Ireland, animated by the apparent happiness which this nobleman's government promised and as quickly depressed with the alarming account of his recall, addressed his lordship from all quarters expressive of their affection for his person and the deepest regret at his departure; they justly anticipated the awful consequences of this impolitic act of the English minister, who blindly hazarded the safety of the empire to listen to the intemperate suggestions of Clare and his associates, the place-hunting, bigoted Beresfords. Mr. Hay was one of the gentlemen of Wexford appointed to wait on his excellency with the address, and in the same year was appointed to carry a petition to the king as a delegate from the same county. This petition was signed by 22,251 signatures, which he procured in the short space of one week; and on the 22nd April, with his brother delegates, in full levee at St. James's, presented it to his majesty.

In 1795, he submitted a plan to Lord Fitzwilliam for the enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, which met the approbation of his lordship, who would have patronised the undertaking had he not been so prematurely recalled. Mr. Hay was living in Wexford at the period when it fell into the hands of the insurgents. Fortunately for Lord Kingsborough, who was taken prisoner by them, that Mr. Hay's popularity extended with so much influence, that he, after much pains and great solicitude, saved the peer from the punishment of flogging, which he is said to have invented for the purpose of extorting confession. No other person could have saved the young nobleman's life, from the horrid character he bore for cruelty while stationed in Dublin, it being well known that it was his lordship's regiment, the North Cork militia, that had the honour of inventing the celebrated pitch caps, so frequently used in torturing the unfortunate peasantry.

Notwithstanding his exemplary conduct in preserving the life of the peer, and many other persons who were exposed to the exasperated rebels, a conspiracy was formed by the Orange ruffians of the county, under the name of gentlemen, to take away his life. They summoned several hundred witnesses with a view of terrifying or seducing some wretches to charge Mr. Hay with being a leader in the rebellion, and succeeded in procuring fifty persons to give information. His activity to preserve the loyal from torture and death was brought as evidence against him, and the mercy they received by his influence was declared as a strong assurance of guilt.

On the 24th of July, 1799, he was arraigned at the

summer assizes, before Baron Smith, for high treason, and on the 27th of the same month was tried; but the trained informers having failed, by neglecting the instructions of their tutors, Mr. Hay was honourably acquitted.

On the 29th, he was again arrested by General Grose. After some short time, a memorial was presented to Lord Cornwallis, stating his formal acquittal, which his lordship was pleased to allow, and again he was liberated.

Mr. Hay has given to the world the best history of this unfortunate insurrection in Wexford which exists. The best eulogium we can give it is by the following note of the late Right Hon. Charles J. Fox to the author:

"St. Ann's Hill, 13th June, 1803.

"Sir—Though it is some time since I received the copy of your 'History of the Wexford Insurrection,' I deferred acknowledging the favour till I had the opportunity of reading it, for which in London I had no time.

"I have now had that pleasure, and can assure you that the boldness and impartiality (as far as I can judge) with which you have given an account of the shocking transactions which took place in 1798 have afforded me the greatest satisfaction, and I think they must have the same effect upon every sincere friend to conciliation and future tranquillity.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"C. J. Fox.

"Edward Hay, Esq."

Thus far for the notice of Edward Hay in "Cox's Magazine."

Charles James Fox was not fortunate enough to have the concurrence of the Orangemen of Ireland in the opinion he expressed as to the merits and utility of Mr. Hay's "History of the Rebellion in Ireland." I have in my possession two original letters addressed to Mr. Hay by gentlemen evidently very intimately connected with the interests of Orangedom, which I now lay before my readers:

FROM S. S. TO MR. EDWARD HAY.

23rd December.

Sir—The insolence of your advertisements compel me to inform you and those of your friends mentioned in S. R. Musgrave's answer, that the plans of you and them infernal rascals, your sociates, that your *pack of rebels*, and all those that take your parts; and if you don't take yourself out of the city, and it out of the paper, I myself, if nobody else will, will think no more of making you than we would of Father Murphy, whose son I suppose you to be, as I imagine no one but such another *Bludy Cropy* would think of disturbing the public peace by inflaming the Papists to murther the Protestants, which you intend to do as sure as I'm *hear;* mind this before you go on with your dam'd *stetment*, or you'll *shere* the fate of *Father Murphy* and all the other rebels who were hanged, flog'd, imprison'd, and transported.

Mind this from s. s.

I'm an Orangeman, and mind that too.

FROM J. A. TO MR. EDWARD HAY.

Monday, 16th January, 1803.

Sir—I write to you on the absurdity and uselessness of the work you intend publishing, to tell you that no one but a rebel of the blackest and worst principles could think of writing such an infamous book; and unless you immediately give over your intention, you'll reap the reward the writer of such a thing merits; for it is certain that your intention is to instigate the people to another rebellion, and if you don't desist on the receipt of this, you may proceed; but the first copy of it I see will be the signature of your death-warrant, for I and fifty more are sworn and resolved on sight of it to give you a death which even your conduct in the rebellion entitles you to. If you find any pleasure in existence, take notice of the contents of this.

J. A.

Edward Hay, the honest, able, indefatigable, and disinterested supporter of the Catholic cause for three-and-thirty years, the secretary of various associations for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland for nearly twenty years, was suffered to perish in absolute want and misery in Dublin, in October, 1826.[1]

I find in the proceedings of "The New Catholic

[1] I have a personal knowledge of the state of destitution in which this poor gentleman existed for a considerable time before his death. He was in the habit of dining weekly, during that period of misery, in my father's house, and I have a very lively recollection of his reiterated complaints, loud and bitter, of the base ingratitude with which his services to the Catholic cause had been treated.—R. R. M.

Association," Christopher Fitzsimon, Esq., in the chair, published in "The Morning Register" of 16th October, the following references to the death of Edward Hay:

Surgeon Wright said he came to announce to them the death of a man who had not only rendered essential services to Ireland, but to the nation at large—the death of Edward Hay, who had long and faithfully served the Catholics of this country. He has left eight unfortunate children, and as God was above him (Surgeon Wright), he could say that they had only a few shillings to support them. He is to be buried tomorrow morning, and they have not money to defray the expenses of the funeral. Mr. Hay, during the latter days of his existence, had been supported by the contributions of his friends. The meeting surely should pay to his remains the last token of respect and regard. The funeral was ordered for six o'clock; but he (Surgeon Wright) had waited their pleasure. He had left a large family, who had strong claims upon the country. Should they be allowed to remain orphans and beggars? Mr. Hay was a victim to the cause of his country. In 1792, nine deputies were appointed from the county Wexford to go up with the general petition to the king. Mr. Hay was nominated as one, and as his father was against his going, his friend, Mr. Devereux, supplied him with the means. His father felt such displeasure at his conduct that he left the younger brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, of the 18th hussars, heir-at-law. Edward Hay was thus disinherited; a small pittance was left him, for which he was at law with his brother for years,

and never got a shilling of it. Edward Hay had thus made personal sacrifices to his country, and he (Mr. Wright) was sure that country would not see his family reduced to beggary and starvation.

Mr. Lawless expressed his sincere pain, in common with the meeting, at the melancholy recital just made. After passing a just panegyric upon the merits and virtues of the late Mr. Hay, he said that if they did not do something for the family of that lamented gentleman, they should cease to exist (hear, hear). Mr. Lawless then moved that they should all attend at Mr. Hay's funeral. The motion was carried.

Mr. Lawless next moved that it be referred to the Finance Committee to ascertain the circumstances of Mr. Hay's family, and to report thereon.

Mr. Wright said that at the Catholic meeting at Kilmainham he had collected £12 17*s* 6*d*., which he handed to the family last night, and it was received by them with tears of gratitude. It was but just to state that Mr. Fitzpatrick, the scrivener, in Stafford-street, when he heard of their misfortunes, sent £2 to relieve them (cheers).

Mr. Lawless then moved that three gentlemen, the chairman, with Messrs. Redmond and Brown, be appointed to arrange the funeral with Mr. Wright, and that £20 be handed to them to defray the expenses.—Carried.

Mr. Wright stated as a fact illustrative of the misery to which Mr. Hay had been reduced, that he had not during the last forty-eight hours of his existence the price of a drink, and that the last prescription which had been ordered for him was returned by the apothecary,

because the money was not sent with it. The trifle was paid by a friend, and the medicine procured.

At a meeting of the New Catholic Association, A. C. O'Dwyer, Esq., in the chair, reported in "The Morning Register," 6th November, 1826, I find the following references to the recent death of Edward Hay:

THE LATE MR. HAY.

Mr. O'Connell said, that in drawing the attention of the Association to a subject which deserved their consideration, he would commence by reading a letter from Lord Killeen. Mr. O'Connell then read the letter from Lord Killeen, in which his lordship expressed his desire to contribute to the subscription for the family of Mr. Hay, and that he was sure his father, Lord Fingal, would feel happy in giving his mite towards the support of the family of his old friend. Lord Killeen remarked this subscription was for a purpose as yet not prohibited by law, and he hoped it would soon swell to a large amount.

The purport of this letter was the object of his (Mr. O'Connell's) motion. This duty had been imposed upon him by the kindness of his talented and respected friend, Mr. Sheil. All he had to regret was that he did not possess the splendid abilities of his learned friend to enable him to do justice to the subject. The late Mr. Hay had been for many years the servant of the Catholics of Ireland. He was the descendant of an ancient and independent family. In early life he was deprived of his inheritance for no other reason but because he took a prominent part in Catholic affairs. There was no other

blemish upon him but this in the eyes of his father. Unfortunately the Catholic gentry of that day had it that the government was always right, and if the government should be wrong, that they would be more wrong if they opposed it. Mr. Hay's inheritance passed to his younger brother, now a lieutenant-colonel in the army. Mr. Hay went with the deputation to London at the latter end of 1792, when they obtained from the fears and wants of the British government concessions of great value and importance. He succeeded then for his country, but failed for himself. He (Mr. O'Connell) had now to appeal to that country on behalf of Mr. Hay's orphans. They deserved support from that country. It was in the year 1804 that the Catholics first petitioned the imperial legislature. Mr. Hay was one of those who took part against the fatal measure of the Union. Mr. Hay had rendered great services to the Catholics. He had devoted the most important years of his life to their cause—years which, had he devoted to some mercantile pursuit, he might have rendered himself independent, and appeal would be unnecessary. His children should not be allowed to starve (hear). They had no other resource but the generosity and gratitude of their country. Mr. Hay had lived to expend his last shilling, and he was too proud to ask for relief. Sickness at length and poverty came upon him, until he had not the means to buy himself some medicine; and he died without leaving a meal for his children, or a coffin to cover his remains. He perished in a most melancholy manner. In his landlord's garden there was a stunted tree, and Mr. Hay obtained leave to cut it down for fuel. In the act he cut his finger; it inflamed, and he

had no means of checking the inflammation. It was at this time that the benevolent Surgeon Wright discovered his situation, and paid him a visit. He ordered Mr. Hay to apply a poultice. The unfortunate gentleman exclaimed, "No, no—so much human food shall not be thus consumed while my family are starving!" His eldest son went to the sergeant of a recruiting party, and offered to enlist, in order to procure a meal for his father. In that situation perished Edward Hay! He has left an interesting family behind him. There are two or three females who will answer well for the situation of governesses. Some of the boys could be profitably employed in a mercantile house. The other children are young. It is impossible that these children shall be deserted by the people (cheers). A mere transitory, temporary relief shall not be extended to those children. Something permanent and substantial must be done. If a great property cannot be bestowed on them, they can, at all events, be made independent. They can be put in the way of honestly earning their bread. . . . That committee should consist of efficient and worthy men. He (Mr. O'Connell) would devote all the time he could to it, and he was determined to persevere until the children were placed beyond the reach of want. Mr. Hay had long and faithfully served the Catholics, and the best requital should be made to the children for the services of the father. Mr. O'Connell concluded by moving for the appointment of a committee.

Mr. Lawless said that if a committee was only appointed, they would have left the room without doing anything. They should now lay the foundation—that

is, they should at once vote £500 for this purpose, and that resolution once carried, then let a committee be appointed to receive those subscriptions which the generosity and gratitude of Ireland would supply. The relief of the family should be drawn from that fund which was contributed by the people. He would take the liberty of moving that the sum of £500 be granted out of the Old Rent for that purpose. By a resolution of an aggregate meeting that fund was already declared open, and surely no one would deny the claims of the family of Mr. Hay upon it.

Mr. O'Connell hoped the amendment would not be pressed. He wished to submit the subject to the calm and deliberate consideration of a committee. The details could be gone into there, and a proper decision made. At all events they should not touch the Old Rent. The association could not touch it without violating the Algerine Act. He (Mr. O'Connell) had never said that an aggregate meeting in Dublin had not the power to dispose of the Old Rent (hear, hear). Such an idea never entered his mind, and if the necessity arose for a portion of the Old Rent, it would be given by the aggregate meeting. But the Old Rent was only sufficient for the purposes for which it was intended. One of these purposes was the support of a liberal press, which display energy and exertion in their cause. That support, he must say, they had not hitherto given as they ought. A great deal could be raised for the family of Mr. Hay by subscription. At all events, let a committee be formed to report on the subject.

Mr. Lawless said he would withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Browne handed in £30 subscribed by a Protestant gentleman for the family of Mr. Hay.

Mr. O'Connell then moved the appointment of a committee.

The following brief resolution will serve as a commentary on the above-mentioned proceedings:

A meeting of the leaders of the Catholics of Ireland was held at the Exhibition Rooms in William-street, Dublin, the 21st of May, 1809, Lord Fingal in the chair, when certain "resolutions establishing the general committee" were agreed to. Among these is the following:

Resolved, unanimously—That from the ability, zeal, and integrity displayed by Edward Hay, Esq., in the discharge of his duty as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, he is hereby appointed to act as secretary to the aforesaid body.

The ability, zeal, and integrity displayed by poor Edward Hay, and all his services as secretary to the Catholics of Ireland, were lost sight of in a few years in the presence of the superior talents of Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, Esq., Barrister-at-law, who stepped into the shoes of the old, trusty servant of the Catholic cause. The books of the old Catholic Association perhaps might now be forthcoming, and available for the uses of the historian, had Edward Hay remained in custody of them.[1]

[1] These books (two folio volumes of most valuable records)

The eldest son of Harvey Hay, Esq., who died in 1796, was the late Edward Hay, the secretary of the Catholics of Ireland.

In the burial-ground of St. James's Church in James's-street lie the remains of Edward Hay. The site of the grave is to be sought about fifty or sixty yards from the entrance, on the left hand side. It is unmarked by any memorial of his faithful services to the Catholic cause, or any record of the base ingratitude with which they were repaid by his Roman Catholic countrymen and the Catholic Association.

In the same cemetery are interred the remains of the Rev. Dennis Taafe, who died in 1813, aged 70.

The fate of Mr. John Hay (says Cloney), a near relative of Mr. Fitzgerald's, furnishes another melancholy tale. Mr. Hay had been a lieutenant in Dillon's regiment (Irish Brigade) up to the time when that far-famed legion was disbanded. He then returned to Ireland, married, and finally settled at Newcastle in the county of Wexford. He was the second son of Harvey Hay of Ballinkeele in the same county, a gentleman of a most respectable family, and brother to Edward Hay,

were carried away from the rooms of the old Catholic Association, in the Corn Exchange, in 1829, some months after its dissolution, by the late Mr. N. P. O'Gorman, and were never afterwards heard of. The particulars of the abstraction of these books are to be found in an article entitled "Reminiscences of a Silent Agitator," in "The Dublin Monthly Magazine" for January, 1833, p. 655. The writer to my knowledge was the late T. Kennedy, Esq., Barrister-at-law, who died in 1842.

who in after times filled the office of secretary to the Catholics of Ireland. He had also two younger brothers—Philip, now lieutenant-colonel in his majesty's service, and James, a captain in the 3rd Buffs, who died in the year 1796 in the West Indies. John Hay continued to enjoy all the happiness which domestic life can supply, in the retreat he had selected—where he hoped to pass the remainder of his life. Capable of the finest feelings, and possessing talents of a superior order, on his return to Ireland, he witnessed the depression of his countrymen with the indignation natural to a generous mind; but from his long residence abroad, and consequent removal from the scene of Irish politics, he was too much a stranger to be involved in the secret confederacies which were organising previous to the crisis of 1798; accordingly, when his neighbours flew to arms, he remained at home—ignorant alike of their preparations and intentions.

When the capture of Enniscorthy first gave to the insurgent army the important character of victors, it also conferred upon their leaders the power to command, if not to enforce the nominal adherence of those who dwelt within their reach. Numbers were thus taken by surprise when the summonses of the commander were borne to their peaceful homes by such formidable messengers that refusal was fruitless, and implicit obedience the only alternative. In this extensive conscription the name of John Hay appeared; and when, upon the 30th of May, the mandate of Mr. Perry, dated from the camp of Vinegar Hill, requiring his immediate attendance there was delivered, it found him at his seat, living with his wife and infant child in all the quiet seclusion

of domestic life. An officer who had served in the French army was considered too important an acquisition to an undisciplined force to be allowed the privilege of remaining neuter; they were too well impressed with the necessity of having amongst them men who served in other campaigns, not to look upon him as a prize worth securing, and accordingly he was addressed by the insurgent commander and summoned to the camp.

That he had not previously been initiated as an United Irishman is apparent from the simple fact, that when he was proceeding to Vinegar Hill he was obliged to inquire the nature of the signs which he might be obliged to give in order to pass the outposts of the United army. Mr. Hay was accompanied by his faithful servant, John Carty, who, from this time up to the hour of his master's death remained with him, and would have shared his fate were it not for the intervention of one of those accidents which, however trivial in their own nature, have often been the means of preserving more lives than his.

It is not requisite to follow Mr. Hay through the various scenes which took place during the time he was amongst the insurgent army. Entrusted with no command, he cannot be considered otherwise than as an unwilling spectator of actions in which he had no participation, and the witness of other deeds which he had not the power to prevent. Tantalized by the one, and tortured by the other, he gave himself up to a gloomy mood of mind, calmly awaiting the crisis which was to decide the fate or fortunes of the cause in which he was then involved.

Upon the evacuation of Wexford by the insurgent

garrison, he retired to his home at Newcastle with his servant, Carty, and having found that previous to his arrival Mrs. Hay had fled to Wexford with her child, he dispatched a woman thither to make search for them, and with his servant agreed to remain concealed in a sallow grove adjoining until she would return.

They had not remained many hours in the grove, when a detachment of the royal army came so near that they halted and pitched their tents in the ground adjoining, and occupied the house and offices belonging to the fugitive. A dragoon sergeant discovered a woman hiding in the haggard, who, in her terror, revealed the place of concealment where her master lay; the grove was searched, and he and his servant were made prisoners. Upon his capture, Mr. Hay endeavoured to destroy the letter he had received from Mr. Perry, but the fragments were picked up and preserved by the sergeant who had discovered him, and he was instantly led before the commanding officer and brought a prisoner to his own house. A singular scene here presented itself to him: he found the commander and other officers dressing themselves from his own wardrobe, and apparently engaging a change of linen from his own stock of shirts! The commanding officer having asked him a few questions, instantly ordered an escort, and sent him and his servant to Wexford. Upon his arrival in that town he was brought to the grand jury-room, where a number of officers were sitting. The president charged him with being a rebel; the fragments of Perry's letter were produced as evidence. An officer of the North Cork militia, named Barry, with Captains Hog and M'Manus of the Antrim regiment, who were taken prisoners at the

engagement of Tubberneering, deposed as to his presence upon that occasion on the side of the insurgents. The prisoner was asked if he had witnesses to prove anything in his defence—a mockery rendered more cruel by the precipitancy of the *trial*, which rendered the production of evidence in his defence quite impossible. When this prelude to death was performed, Mr. Hay was ordered back to the gaol; and, seeing his servant led out along with him, he turned and said that he (Carty) had followed him as his servant, and was therefore exempted from the charges to which his master might be liable, but no satisfactory reply was given by this military tribunal.

They had not been many minutes in the gaol when the gaoler announced to Mr. Hay that a guard was waiting for him. No sentence had been pronounced in his hearing, therefore the first impression on his mind was that they were going to flog him, and he made use of an exclamation to that effect, so little did he imagine that the hour of his execution was so near. His faithful servant proceeded to accompany him, but was told by the gaoler to remain where he was, and thus his life was preserved.

Placed upon his horse by his merciless guards, he was then conducted to the bridge and executed. His body was afterwards cut down, and having received every indignity which can be inflicted upon a lifeless corpse by human monsters, it was finally cast into the river. A near relation of this ill-fated gentleman sought along the water's edge that night for his remains, and having discovered them, at the receding of the tide, had them interred in Kilmallock church-yard.

Some short time before the rebellion (says Luke Cullen), a difference occurred between Captain Philip Hay and his brother Edward, by some misunderstanding in the division of property as demised by their late father. Mr. Solomon Richards was an administrator, and Mr. Edward Fitzgerald was the particular friend and the trustee for Mr. Edward Hay. The two brothers completely misunderstood each other, and some angry words passed between Captain Hay and Mr. Fitzgerald, who was the warm friend of his cousin, Edward Hay. Whatever words passed, neither of them would retract, and the difference merged into an affair of honour. The ground was instantly named, and they proceeded to it, but were prevented from carrying out their design by some magistrate. They instantly rode off to another place more convenient for their purpose, and after an exchange of shots, in which Mr. Fitzgerald was wounded in the thigh, they left the ground. Mr. Fitzgerald rode home to Newpark with speed.

It was not the fault of the Protestant ascendancy gentlemen of Wexford that all the surviving members of the Hay family were not hanged in 1798. They did their best to get Edward Hay hanged. They had him tried by a court-martial, but in this instance they were unsuccessful. They did succeed however in the case of his brother, John Hay. That gentleman was hanged. They endeavoured, indeed, with all their might and zeal, to get another brother of the Hays, Captain Philip Hay, then of the 3rd regiment of foot, hanged; but the known loyalty of

this officer was such that even a Wexford court-martial of that time (the 27th of July, 1798) were compelled to recognise it. Had Lieutenant Philip Hay been murdered by the Irish administration's cherokees—the Orange allies of the government—the British sovereign would have lost a good subject and a brave officer, who rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in his majesty's service.

The death of Lieutenant-General Philip Hay is recorded in the following terms in "The Illustrated London News" of 30th August, 1856:

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HAY.

Lieutenant-General Philip Hay died at his residence, Lambeth, on the 8th instant, in his eighty-third year. This distinguished veteran officer was the son of Harvey Hay, Esq., of Ballenkeele Castle, in the county of Wexford, Ireland; and was the scion of a very ancient Roman Catholic family, which came over to Ireland with Strongbow, and which descended from the Earls of Erroll. Lieutenant-General Hay entered the English army in 1794. He embarked for the West Indies early in 1796, and served there in the campaign of that and the following year. He was, in 1797, actively employed in the island of St. Vincent; he was, with his regiment (the 18th hussars), in the campaign of 1808–9 in Portugal and Spain, under Sir John Moore; and was present in the cavalry actions of Mayorga and Benevente. Hay commanded the rear-guard from Astorga and Balanzas on the retreat, terminating with the battle of Corunna. He was also with the Army of Occupation in France un-

til its return to England in 1818. He received the war medal for Mayorga and Benevente. The remains of the gallant and lamented general were interred on the 16th instant, in the family vault, at Norwood Cemetery.

It only remains to state that two daughters of Edward Hay are at the present time (June, 1860) existing in Dublin in absolute indigence, and that their state of destitution is known to the Very Rev. Dean Meyler of Westland-row.

CHAPTER X

MEMOIR OF ANTHONY PERRY

THE seat of Mr. Perry of Inch was about midway between Arklow and Gorey.

He was a member of the Established Church, but was married to a Roman Catholic lady. A descendant of Mr. Perry, a gentleman of the name of Prendergast, is now the proprietor of Inch.

The atrocities that were committed by the armed Orangemen of his locality were "too bad" for endurance, even in the opinion of a country gentleman who had never taken any part in politics—a Protestant of high station and well-known loyal principles, previously to the reign of terror in his county.

In Enniscorthy, Ross, and Gorey (says Hay), several persons were not only put to the torture in the usual manner, but a greater number of houses were burned, and measures of the strongest coercion were practised, although the people continued to flock in to the different magistrates for protection. Mr. Perry of Inch, a Protestant gentleman, was seized on and brought a prisoner to Gorey, guarded by the North Cork militia; one of whom, the noted sergeant nicknamed "Tom the Devil," gave him woeful experience of his ingenuity and

adroitness at devising torments. As a specimen of his *savoir faire,* he cut off the hair of his head very closely, cut the sign of the cross, from the front to the back and transversely from ear to ear, still closer; and probably a pitch cap not being in readiness, gunpowder was mixed through the hair, which was then set on fire, and the shocking process repeated, until every atom of hair that remained could be easily pulled out by the roots; and a burning candle was continually applied, until the entire was completely singed away, and the head left totally and miserably blistered! At Carnew, things were carried to still greater length; for, independent of burning, whipping, and torture of all shapes, on Friday, the 25th of May, twenty-eight prisoners were brought out of the place of confinement, and deliberately shot in a ball-alley by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia; the infernal deed being sanctioned by the presence of their officers! Many of the men thus inhumanly butchered had been confined on mere suspicion! ! !

General Cloney, in reference to Perry's capture and death, says:

A part of the Wexford division of the insurgents, which I last referred to, after fighting several battles, and cutting the Ancient Britons to pieces near Carnew, now weakened by a diminution of their number, directed their march to the woods of Killaughran, where they expected, from information they had received, to meet a large reinforcement with Mr. Kearns, the priest, and myself in command. Finding that Mr. Kearns or I were not in Killaughran, Messrs. Edward Fitzgerald and

Gerald Byrne sent to my father's house, which was about two miles and a half from the woods where they had halted, to inform us of their arrival, and expressing a hope we would join them immediately; Mr. Kearns, who had recently arrived, and myself, were at a tenant's house in the neighbourhood.

Cloney's father being then dying, he was prevented from joining Messrs. Fitzgerald and Byrne.

My case was however growing so desperate, that my friends were induced to make applications to men in power. Mr. Kearns (says Cloney), repaired to his friends, suffering the greatest mortification at my not accompanying him. He continued with the insurgents until they were dispersed at the Boyne, and he was soon taken and executed with Mr. Perry at Edenderry—the three clerical commanders all meeting the same fate; and little better could be expected. I always thought and still think that ministers of religion should be ministers of peace and not voluntary witnesses to the spilling of human blood. It is but justice, however, to those lamented clergymen to say, that they prevented much bloodshed. They were all brave, generous, and humane.

After the defeat of the rebels at Clonard, they fled, and in several rencontres with bodies of yeomanry and militia, suffered new disasters, and at length were routed and dispersed in the vicinity of Slane.

The following are Mr. Jones' views of the character of Colonel Perry and Priest Kearns, who were executed:

Every man who survived thought only of providing for his own safety. Colonel Perry and Father Kearns made their escape into the King's County, and were attempting to cross a bog near Clonbollogue, where they were apprehended by Mr. Ridgeway and Mr. Robinson of the Edenderry yeomen, who brought them to that town, where they were tried and executed by martial law. Perry was extremely communicative, and while in custody, both before and after trial, gratified the inquiries of every person who spoke to him, and made such a favourable impression that many regretted his fate. He acknowledged that 150 of the rebels were killed and wounded at Clonard, which, though accomplished by twenty-seven men, will not appear extraordinary when it is known that these twenty-seven men fired upwards of 1,300 ball cartridge!

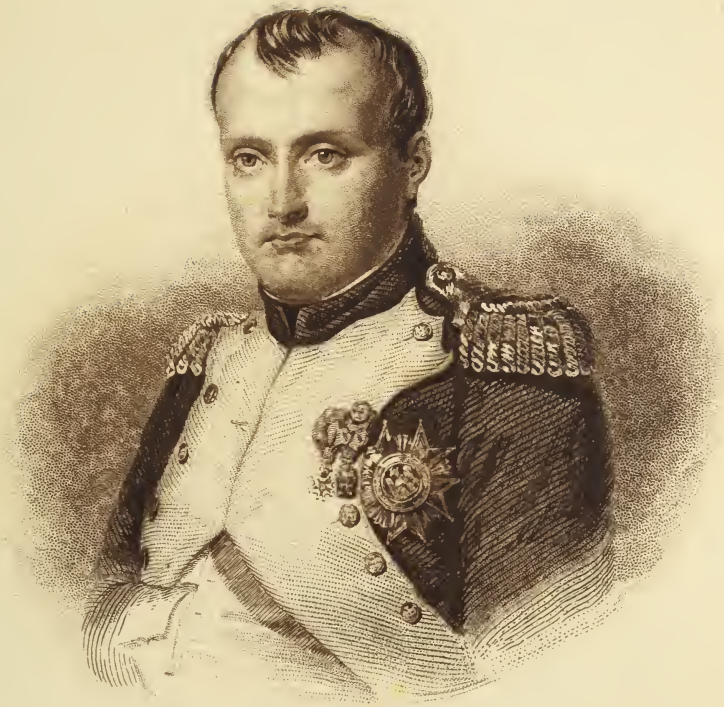
Kearns was exactly the reverse of his companion; he was silent and sulky, and seldom spoke, save to upbraid Perry for his candid acknowledgments. The history of this priest is somewhat extraordinary. He had actually been hanged in Paris during the reign of Robespierre, but being a large, heavy man, the lamp-iron from which he was suspended gave way till his toes reached the ground. In this state he was cut down by a physician who had known him, who brought him to his house and recovered him. He afterwards made his escape into Ireland, was constituted a curate of a chapel near Clonard, and having suffered so much by democratic rage and insurrectionary fury, he was looked upon as an acquisition in the neighbourhood, then much disturbed by the Defenders. He inveighed against these nightly marauders with such appearance of sincerity and zeal, that he was

Napoleon

After the Celebrated Painting by David

Napoleon

After the Celebrated Painting by David



frequently consulted by the magistrates, and sometimes accompanied them in their patrols. Some suspicion of treachery on his part was at length entertained, from the uniform discovery of the operations agreed upon by the magistrates, in consequence of which he was excluded from their councils, and a positive information being sworn against him for instigating a murder which was afterwards actually committed, he fled into Wexford, where he became a member of an assassinating committee, in which capacity he became extremely active, until he accompanied Colonel Perry upon the expedition into Kildare, which he is known to have encouraged, and which finally led him to that fate which was the just reward of a hypocritical and malignant heart, filled with gloomy and ferocious passions.

So far for the impartial views of the Orange historian, Mr. Jones, of the characters of Mr. Perry and the Rev. Mr. Kearns.

Now, to form a due estimate of the character of any Roman Catholic clergyman (on the showing of Orangemen) who was marked out for the vengeance of their institution in 1798, let us consider the case of a Wexford priest of some notoriety in after times—the Rev. D. Murray, a Roman Catholic curate of Arklow. This gentleman was held by Orangeism of such "a hypocritical and malignant heart, filled with such gloomy and ferocious passions," that it was necessary to put him to death. The painful necessity of shooting him devolved on certain members of the corps of yeomanry (Lord Camden's favourite

force) then stationed in Arklow. There could be no doubt then that he deserved to die, otherwise the Orange yeomen of Arklow would not have given themselves this trouble of attempting his life, nor have wasted their powder and ball on a mere Popish priest. The traitorous and disaffected Arklow curate—a sly, cunning, covert traitor, exceedingly alert and vigilant—being apprized of the "just reward" intended for his crimes, fled. He was pursued, however, by the ministers of justice, happily armed for its exercise by Lord Camden. He was fired at as he fled, and his life was only saved by the atrocious interference of some Catholics in the corps, being of course disaffected ruffians, and Orange yeomanry justice was thus cheated of a victim to its offended laws. This rebel priest, who unfortunately contrived to reach Dublin, must surely have been another Kearns, of an equally "hypocritical and malignant heart."

Let us inquire a little more about this fugitive rebel priest. The result of the inquiries made for me about him is as follows:

His Grace the late Archbishop of Dublin, the Right Rev. Daniel Murray (says Luke Cullen), was curate in Arklow in the year 1798, never attending in the slightest manner to any business but that of his sacred ministry. He was told that a party of the yeomen of the town were proposing to shoot him. He escaped by a back way to go to Sheepwalk, the residence of his father; he

was quickly followed, and fired on as he crossed the river under the residence of Lord Wicklow, and would certainly have been shot, but that a Catholic yeoman named Halpin by great exertions kept them back. His ecclesiastical superior in the parish, the Rev. Dr. Ryan, P.P., did not escape as well. This clergyman was remarkable for his benevolence, rarely ever known to have the second suit of clothes in his empty wardrobe; and although pastor of a large and wealthy union, he always found himself too poor to keep a house of his own, or a house he could so call, but had lodgings with one of his parishioners. Through his whole incumbency he was on the best terms with the people of the surrounding country, and particularly at the approach of hostilities and during that fearful time; and yet the three chapels in his large union were burned. But on Friday, the 14th of December, 1798, in the dead of night, a banditti, supposed to consist of members of the Arklow yeomen infantry, went to his lodging, to the house of one Bergin, at Johnstown, pinioned the family and domestics, plundered the house of any portable article worth carrying off, and then murdered the old gentleman in the most brutal and inhuman manner.

The result of very extensive inquiries made for me by Mr. Luke Cullen, of Clondalkin, will be found in the following notice of Mr. Perry:

Anthony Perry, of Perrymount, Inch, near Coolgraney, was born in the county Down. He married a Miss Eliza Ford, of Ballyfad, near Coolgraney. She was a Catholic lady, and a near relative to the Talbots of Castle Talbot, county Wexford.

Mr. Perry's mother was a Dublin lady of the name of Moore. He had property in different parts of the country, but his residence was Perrymount, Inch, near Coolgraney. He was first lieutenant in the Coolgraney corps of cavalry. He quitted his corps on parade, in Fort Chester, disgusted at the barbarous outrages that his men were committing on the people. He was then arrested, lodged in gaol at Gorey, and liberated by the rebels after the battle of Tubberneering. When his men were obliged to rest he frequently took their post, and would stand as sentry in their place. He loved the people sincerely, and was equally beloved by them.

Mr. Perry left three sons—Andrew, who died young, Francis, and Anthony. Francis, I heard, died lately, and I am told he was educated in Trinity College. Anthony was a most amiable gentleman—was educated in England. He died in Ballyfad with his aunts, the Misses Ford. He was reared and died a Roman Catholic.

A man named Faulkner, who was a member of the Orange lodge of Edenderry, and who is still living, has told me, that the axe with which the heads of Mr. Perry and Father Kearns were severed from their bodies was brought with their blood dripping from it to the Orange lodge, and carefully deposited in the chest containing the paraphernalia of the lodge; and that at their meetings afterwards it used to be taken out and exhibited to the brethren, and the exhibition was always a source of savage enthusiasm and exultation.

The remains of Mr. Perry are interred at Edenderry, close by the chapel.

It was during his imprisonment in Gorey that "Tom

the Devil" most savagely ill-treated him. Some of his own corps threatened to shoot him and Mr. Ford and their own Captain Beauman, because these three gentlemen prevented them from acts of robbery and from outrages of various kinds.

Mr. Perry, I believe, received a college education; he was highly educated, and the old people say that he was a very gifted man. The battles that he fought in I received an account of from my father, who never parted from Captain Perry until the day that he and Father Kearns parted with the people and went to the King's County. His battles were Arklow, Vinegar Hill, Hacketstown, Ballyellis, Ballyraheen, Ballygullen, Clonard, Knightstown bog, besides several skirmishes in going to and retreating from the county Meath. Perry was always at his post, displaying activity and cheerfulness on all occasions where much was to be done or endured for his cause.

CHAPTER XI

MEMOIR OF ESMONDE KYAN

ESMONDE KYAN, a gentleman of ancient family and most respectable connections, resided in the parish of Monamoling, about midway between Oulart and Ballicanew, in the county Wexford.

After the defeat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill, on the 21st June, the leaders, after divers consultations and as many dissensions in their councils, decided on dividing their force into separate corps.

All those men who inhabited the country north or north-east of the river Slaney (says Cloney), except a small party with Father Murphy, crossed Wexford bridge, under the command of Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Garrett Byrne, Mr. Esmonde Kyan, Mr. Edward Roach, and other commanders. The other division proceeded some few miles into the barony of Forth, under three clerical commanders, the Rev. Philip Roach, the Rev. Moses Kearns, and the Rev. John Murphy. This corps marched into Bargy barony, and encamped that night at a place called Sleedagh, about five miles from Wexford. Mr. Kearns, who suffered much from a wound he received at Enniscorthy the preceding day,

and from extreme fatigue, took shelter in a farmer's house on the way, was left behind by the body on the following day. A council of war was held this night, when the Rev. Mr. Roach strongly urged the propriety of their sending in an offer to Wexford of surrendering their arms and seeking protection, further resistance being considered by him as fruitless and unavailing. The Rev. John Murphy boldly resisted this, and declared against placing any reliance on the powers that were—for his part, he said, "if he stood alone, he would never willingly surrender to them." This declaration, supported by very strong and conclusive arguments, gained over the whole body to his side, and they at once resolved to march by the safest route through Scollagh Gap into the county Carlow, and thence to Castlecomer. The Rev. Mr. Roach returned to Wexford, where he was most ignominiously dragged through the streets to the scaffold with very little delay. He deserved a better fate; his conduct to Protestants, as truly related by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, himself a Protestant clergyman, in his history of the Wexford insurrection, and which conduct I witnessed in many instances myself, proved him to be both generous and humane. But little did such attributes avail a man at that moment.

On the morning of the 23rd of June, the insurgent body, now commanded by the Rev. John Murphy, proceeded through the county of Carlow, and having arrived before the little town of Goresbridge, in the county of Kilkenny, a show of defence was made at a bridge on the river Barrow by a party of the Wexford militia, but they were quickly repulsed, driven back into

the village, and nearly all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The prisoners were conveyed with the insurgents, until they arrived on a ridge of hills which divides the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny from the Queen's County. Here, to their eternal dishonour be it said, they put some of the unfortunate prisoners to death, and buried their bodies on the hill; others escaped and joined their friends. In justice to the memory of the Rev. John Murphy, I must here state that these murders were perpetrated contrary to his solemn injunctions, and that they were the result of long felt and deadly malice, entertained by some of the insurgents towards the unfortunate militia-men. It is lamentable to think that men fighting for liberty should have disgraced themselves by such barbarity. The example of murdering in cold blood was, no doubt, constantly set them by their enemies; but still brave men and Christians should never be influenced by such savage examples to perpetrate cold-blooded and deliberate murders. If a war of partial extermination had not been proclaimed, no justification whatever could be offered for this revolting atrocity; but it is well known that, although the practice was not avowedly sanctioned by the constituted authorities, it was in almost all cases unblushingly advised by the underlings of power in Ireland.

Having rested for the night of the 23rd of June on the Ridge, as those hills are called, they proceeded early next morning to Castlecomer, and commenced a furious attack on the town at ten o'clock. The principal resistance offered to their progress was from a party stationed in a house at the foot of the bridge, which was

ably defended, and opposite to which many brave men fell, by rashly exposing themselves in front of so strong a position; for the town could have been attacked and carried with very little loss from another quarter. In fact, every other position was speedily abandoned by the military and yeomanry, who retreated and took up a position on a hill at a respectful distance from the town. Here, as well as in most other places where the insurgents had been engaged, skill alone was wanting to insure success. The people had numbers and courage enough to overthrow and force which had been sent against them, if they had been skilfully commanded. The attack on the well-defended house was fruitlessly kept up for four hours, from which they finally retreated with severe loss, and marched in a north-west direction about five miles into the Queen's County, where they rested for the night.

But of all the atrocious violations of justice, which were then enacted in Wexford, the deliberate infraction of a solemn treaty, in which Mr. Esmonde Kyan had been included, was the most so. This gentleman, who ranked far above the plebeian aristocracy of the county Wexford in family and respectability, was influenced by motives of humanity alone to accept the command of an insurgent corps, as he saw that the people had no alternative but to measure swords in a field of battle with their cruel persecutors, or wait to be butchered by them in their humble dwellings. He was courageous to desperation, and at the battle of Arklow received a gunshot wound in his shoulder while leading his pikemen to an attack on the British artillery. The loss of the battle, it is said, was mainly attributable to Mr. Kyan's

personal disaster, which obliged him to repair for surgical aid to Wexford.

In attempting to do justice to his character, it is not to be supposed that the merits of many others of the leaders on that occasion is at all questioned. The battle was too well contested both by men and leaders to admit of any such doubt, and most likely would have been carried, and the road to the capital thrown completely open, but for the failure of ammunition on the people's part. Mr. Kyan's friends procured him a lodging in the suburbs of Wexford, where he was confined to his bed, scarcely hoping to recover, when, on the memorable 20th of June, a person rushed into his lodgings and cried out "that the mob was going to murder all the Protestant prisoners." Such a horrible communication operated on his kind nature like an electric shock; he started from his sick-bed, flung his garments loosely on his person, and ran, or rather tottered, to the fatal bridge, where, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Corrin (who was a long time on his knees with uplifted hands praying for mercy for the prisoners), he saved the lives of several who had been marked out for slaughter by a gang of the very lowest desperadoes. Captain Milward, of the Wexford militia, and a Mr. King were in the fangs of the rabble, who were about to immolate them, when Esmonde Kyan, with that peculiar intrepidity of mind which defies every danger, rescued them from their impending fate, and had them conveyed to a place of safety. In the treaty of peace which was concluded between Generals Fitzgerald and Aylmer and General Dundas in the county of Kildare, Esmonde

Kyan's personal safety and permission to emigrate was guaranteed by the British general.

Relying on the faith of this treaty, he was proceeding to his home in the county of Wexford, when he was arrested, brought to trial, convicted of being a rebel officer, and ordered for execution the day after his conviction. It was in vain that he pleaded General Dundas's official stipulation, and required time to give satisfactory proof of it. Equally vain was it for him to remind his judges that he had saved some valuable lives in Wexford. The wretches who tried him would neither grant him time for an official disclosure of what he stated, the truth of which was already well known to them, nor would they acknowledge that his humanity merited the slightest recompense. The present generation of English and Irish Protestants will not be surprised at the distrust with which the Irish Catholics have hitherto regarded the promises of British ministers and their Irish faction, whether Whig or Tory, when they shall ruminate on the cruel and unmerited punishment inflicted on Esmonde Kyan.

The Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Gordon, thus refers to Esmonde Kyan:—

Thus Esmonde Kyan, one of the most brave and generous among them, declared to Richard Dowse, a Protestant gentleman of the county of Wicklow, whom he had rescued from assassins, that his own life was irredeemably forfeited; for if the rebellion should succeed, his own party would murder him; and if it should not succeed, his fate must be death by martial law, which happened according to his prediction.

I find the following reference to Esmonde Kyan in an original letter of Felix Rourke, under the signature of F. R. Wilson, addressed to Miss Mary Finnerty. The rebel writer, it will be observed, deemed it necessary to address the lady (of his love) in the character of an officer of the king's forces who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents:

27th July, 1798.

My dear Mary—The old proverb, "Better late than never," must plead my excuse. The merit of story-telling is generally allowed me; I will tell a true, though rather a stale story. The rebels who were encamped on Whelp Rock, under the command of Colonels Perry, Fitzgerald, Kyan, Murphy, Aylmer, and Rourke, after a long, forced march to the county Kildare, halted near Prosperous. On perceiving a body of troops moving after them, they took a strong position near the heights above the town—a bog in front, only passable by a narrow road, through which an army should march to attack them. They had taken the precaution to place their bullocks, baggage, &c., in such a situation in the road, that their riflemen could fire with precision from behind them; a heavy column of musketeers and pikemen intrenched in the ditches appeared so formidable, that his majesty's troops drew off without firing a gun, and left them to prosecute their march unmolested. As I had fallen into their hands in Kill (when they took and destroyed a mail coach), through the mediation of one of their officers I was suffered to march in

custody of an intelligent young man, who made no secret in telling me the plan for their future operations, as follows: the Wexford men under Esmonde Kyan, as general, with Colonels Perry, Fitzgerald, Rossiter, and Garrett Byrne, with part of the Wicklows, after the battle of Carnew, were obliged to fall back into the mountains, where they formed a junction with the county and city of Dublin rebels, under Markam Rattigan and Rourke, and the Kildare men under Murphy, where they encamped, and were joined by Aylmer and his party, when they proceeded, as I before mentioned, with the determination of marching through the different counties in order to raise them—to avoid fighting as much as possible, but harass small parties. This determination was frustrated in the following manner: after a long, fatiguing march, without sleep for two nights, we arrived on Wednesday fortnight, which I believe was the 10th of July (1798), about ten o'clock in the afternoon, in Clonard; the men, after the night and morning's march without refreshment, proceeded to attack; the county and city of Dublin troops in front, led by Murphy and Rourke, entered the town under a very heavy fire of musketry from the barracks; the pikemen, with considerable loss, and ill-advised, attempted to force the barracks, when by the assistance of a woman they burned them, and not one soldier escaped the flames. They then proceeded to burn the town, in which they partly succeeded, but fortunately a reinforcement arrived from Kinnegad, with two pieces of artillery, and commenced a dreadful fire of grape and round shot on the rebels, who retreated, leaving about ten dead and as many wounded, whom they car-

ried off. The loss of his majesty's troops was considerable, with loss of the barracks,[1] and a principal part of the town. Among the rebels wounded were Colonel Murphy, and Rourke's brother shot through the arm. The rebels fought obstinately, and retreated in good order to Carberry, burning several houses on the road, and a bridge, when I was taken a prisoner. The next day, after a march of twenty miles to C———, in the county Meath, they were attacked over a hill where they had encamped, at a time their cavalry were out foraging, their musketeers without a round of ammunition. They retreated, leaving baggage, provisions, &c., behind. A disagreement on the road separated the different county rebels, and prejudiced the cause of liberty. They have since, I understand, taken the oath of allegiance, and got protections—which they will break, I dare say, the first opportunity, as many have done, and again take to the mountains. I have pretty well tired you with news; now for more, but don't tell it—I am still as much yours as ever.

With affectionate remembrance to father, mother, and William, my jewel Margery, and poor Felix, I am, with wishes to see and make you happy—you know the reason—

F. R. Wilson.

P.S.—Excuse the many faults in this from the mountains, as I am watching the motions of the rebels.

The Orange historians of the rebellion in Wexford cannot help bearing testimony to the humanity of Esmonde Kyan; but gentlemen of ancient

[1] See Walker's "Hibernian Magazine," August, 1798.

and honourable lineage like Messrs. Musgrave, Jackson, Jones, &c., whose origin has all the mysterious incertitude and obscurity of the sources of the Nile, can find nothing of a very exalted kind in his position in society or his family connections. He is "a man in the middle ranks of life" with them. His lineage cannot come "betwixt the wind and their nobility." He is a democrat, a mere Irishman, a *novus homo* in the sight of the descendants of the troopers and the drummers of Oliver Cromwell!

Esmonde Kyan nevertheless bears an historic name in his country's annals, even in its Anglicized form; and for centuries before the old Irish designation of his family was barbarized in the new nomenclature of the inquisitions of the commissioners of forfeited estates, the name of O'Cahane was written in old records whose antiquity was then of an ancient date in Ireland.

A scion of that old stock, Mr. Francis Howard Kyan, a grandnephew of Esmonde Kyan, a young gentleman of fine talents and of great hopes (taken away in the flower of his age, when his noble qualities and extensive acquirements afforded his family and friends the fairest promise of a bright career for him), devoted a vast deal of labour and of antiquarian lore to the illustration of the early history of his family.

The following notices are from the papers of the late Mr. Francis Kyan:

Esmonde Kyan, whose courage and humanity are borne ample testimony to by the historians of the rebellion of 1798, was driven into extreme courses by the high ascendancy polemics and politics of his father, Howard Kyan of Mount Howard. In the frequent intercourse which his popular opinions led him to keep up with the peasantry, he became enamored with a beautiful young country girl, whom he married not long before the rebellion of 1798, or soon after its outbreak. Having taken an active part in the rebellion—happily for a vast number of the Protestants, whose lives were saved by his influence over the insurgents—when most of the other leaders had entered into terms with the government, he made his conditional surrender to General Robert Dundas; but in violation of the terms entered into, he was sent before a court-martial, tried, condemned, and executed—an example of perfidy which, even in those bad times, happily for the honour of British arms, was rare. Esmonde Kyan left issue two daughters—Mary, married J. Lanigan, Esq., and had issue Mary, married to Lieutenant-General A. Duncan of Gattenside House, Linlithgowshire. The second daughter of Esmond Kyan entered into the order of Sisters of Charity, and died in a convent in Dublin.

Esmonde Kyan was the fourth son of Howard Kyan, Esq., of Mount Pleasant and Ballymurtagh, county Wicklow, who married Frances, daughter of Lawrence Esmonde, Esq., of Ballynastragh, and sister to Sir Thomas Esmonde, sixth baronet.

CHAPTER XII

MEMOIR OF EDWARD FITZGERALD OF NEWPARK

I AM indebted to a man of no ordinary zeal in collecting for me, from the survivors and descendants of the subordinate actors in the struggle of '98 in Wexford and the adjoining counties of Wicklow and Kildare, authentic information respecting the principal leaders of the United Irishmen in those counties, and especially respecting the subject of this memoir.

Mr. Edward Fitzgerald (says the late Luke Cullen), it appears, was born in Newpark, parish of Killisk, county Wexford. He must have been born about 1770. I heard his neighbours say he was twenty-eight years of age in 1798. His mother was a sister to Harvey Hay of Ballinkeel, in that county, and consequently he was first cousin to Philip Hay, late colonel of the 18th light dragoons, and to Mr. Edward Hay, secretary to the Catholic board. His father was said to be lineally descended from the Kildare family.

Newpark is six and a-half miles north of Wexford, three and a-half miles from Oulart, and about six miles S.E. of Enniscorthy. It appears that his father and mother died when he was young, and left no other child.

Edward Fitzgerald was highly educated. He had a

great passion for the sports of the field, and could not be excelled in horsemanship; and at a very early age he had so won the affections of all the people in that part of the county in which he resided, that they almost idolized him. He kept a pack of hounds and a stud of hunters. In those respects he became the rival of his uncle, Harvey Hay, who had previously taken the lead of the Wexford in hunting and steeple-chasing. So much did Mr. Fitzgerald possess the esteem of the people around him, that when he went out with his dogs it was no uncommon thing for the farmers' sons of the neighbourhood to take their horses from the plough to follow the dogs with him. He was of a very mild, retiring disposition in common life, but when roused by any outrage on the poor people of his vicinity at the hands of their Orange bashaws, he was the reverse of all this. He had a lively perception of wit and humour.

Mr. Fitzgerald was a very handsome man, with an exceedingly finely formed face, and of rather a light frame, slender and agile. He was five feet eight inches in height. He had a very good income from land. He farmed a great deal—I doubt if any man in that county farmed more. He was very extensively engaged in the corn trade and malting; and so extensive and well-stocked were his corn stores, that after being set on fire by General Needham's army, they continued to burn for several days. It may be said that Needham's men burned and destroyed Mr. Fitzgerald's property without orders; but they certainly did not burn the chapel of Ballymunn without his knowledge, for Ballinkeel House was his head-quarters on the evening of the 21st June, and the chapel was actually within the demesne.

Born to a plentiful fortune, and having no one to share it with him, and not being under any control or obligations towards poor relations, it is surprising what a sober and regular life he led. He attended scrupulously to all the duties of the Catholic religion, nor could the whole country produce a man more solidly virtuous and moral. This did not save him, however, in the reign of terror from proscription and arrest.

When Messrs. Fitzgerald and Colclough, in June, '98, prisoners of state in the gaol of Wexford, were sent on a mission by the loyalists to the insurgents, and came to the suburbs of Enniscorthy, they were recognised by some persons who were going home from the camp. "Welcome, Mr. Fitzgerald!" was instantly shouted—the cheer was caught up and repeated until it reached the market-square of Enniscorthy, where a number of the people were assembled. But as soon as they were informed that Mr. Fitzgerald was not unconditionally free—that he had to give a large amount of security for his appearance to take his trial on a future day—there was a general cry that he should return no more to Wexford while "the enemy" was in it. The mayor of Wexford, who remained in Wexford after the garrison had fled, came to Mr. Fitzgerald, then in prison, and, in the most abject terms of supplication, entreated him to proceed to the rebels stationed on the other side of the river, and prevent those people from entering the town.

Fitzgerald was the man who ought to have been appointed commander-in-chief of the rebel forces of the county Wexford, and not B. B. Harvey. The nomination of the latter was more a political proceeding of the

leaders than an act of the people; it was for the purpose of gaining the confidence and good-will of their Protestant countrymen. But Fitzgerald was certainly too modest and retiring in his disposition to put himself forward, or readily to accept the leadership.

Fitzgerald was in Wexford at the time of the capture of Lord Kingsborough. When his lordship and some others taken with him were brought into Wexford, his lordship was recognised by some of the people. The discovery was soon whispered amongst the crowd of insurgents, and some people in the rear were vowing vengeance, and commencing to approach and gather round his lordship. At this juncture Fitzgerald accidentally came to the spot, and being made acquainted with the designs that were entertained against his lordship's life, he stepped forward and ordered the people to stand back, and called on a few persons of tried courage that were near him to assist him in keeping them back, and the first person that put himself beside Fitzgerald to protect Lord Kingsborough was one Timothy Whelan, who drew his pistols from the holsters and swore he would shoot the first man that would offer any violence to the prisoners. (This Whelan is dealt severely with by Mr. Hay.) The person whom I heard the above from was a man of superior mind, and incapable of falsehood.

While the insurgents remained in Wexford, Fitzgerald was with his friends John Hay, Esmonde Kyan, Perry, and Aylmer in various engagements in different parts of the country, wherever his services were wanted.

The northern division of the insurgent army had pitched their camp on the low mountain called Carri-

grew, about fifteen miles north of Wexford, on the night of the 31st of May; Mr. Fitzgerald had the principal command of this division. I know that Captain Philip Hay and his brother John Hay were in that encampment, and commanded against the division under Walpole. Captain Hay quitted the insurgents when they went to Gorey, and he told several of the men that he knew that they would not succeed in consequence of insubordination and their want of discipline.

There is a long street running to the south suburb of Wexford called the Faight; it is near the harbour, and running partly parallel to it. The men in this locality are principally fishermen, and formerly were well used to the gun. There was a regular corps of them formed there, and, on the morning of the 1st of June, they volunteered to join Fitzgerald's division on Carrigrew. These might be said to be a corps of the South Shilmaliers, for that barony is divided into two parts by the Slaney.

At the battle of Arklow, Fitzgerald had the command of the Wexford gunsmen, and he never ceased a moment riding through the lines, encouraging and supplying every deficiency that was in his power; and when they fired their last round, and sullenly marched from the plains of Arklow back to Gorey Hill, he rode in the rear of his men back to their old encampment. He still acted as general there, and likewise at Limerick Hill. He was out with the several parties who molested so seriously the military at various stations from the encampment of the insurgents at Mount Pleasant, near Tinahely. From that place he proceeded to Kilcavin Hill, and prepared his men for a general engagement

—with a scanty supply of ammunition, however; and notwithstanding that the enemy had four generals with their divisions surrounding them, Lord Lake, the general-in-chief, thought it more prudent to draw off than to hazard a battle. He led his men from Kilcavin to Vinegar Hill. Messengers were thence despatched to bring up the forces from Wexford under General Edward Roach and Esmonde Kyan, but this latter gentleman's wound, which he received at Arklow, was too bad to allow him at that time to take an active part in any affairs.

Mr. Fitzgerald was a rich man—his profits I heard computed by the men who knew his business in the malting and corn trade to be little short of £2,000 a-year, independent of a good yearly income from land. One of his men told me, that with the barley and malt he had in store in 1798, with the corn and hay in his haggard at the time of the destruction of his premises and property by the military, the value of that property and of those premises could not be under £4,000 or even £5,000. When he received, at Gorey, this distressing intelligence of the total ruin of his house, offices, and property, he manifested no emotion.

On entering Gorey, however, he was indignant at the remorseless butchery that was practised on old and young, without distinction of age or sex, and hurried on some of the boldest of his men in pursuit of the yeomen, whom they followed to Coolgraney. Coming up with them, he cut down several of them; but with regard to the prisoners that fell into his hands at Gorey, he behaved in the most humane manner possible, amidst

the threats and shouts of the people for vengeance on those who had recently slain or butchered their nearest relatives. And after the brutality of the yeomen and soldiery, and particularly that of General Needham's in that country, the rage of the people was hardly to be wondered at—the women of it will always feel a horror at the sight of a red coat. And I saw myself, several years after, young women of a strong and noble mind turn off the road at the sight of a soldier, and would not meet him. And I fear that hatred to them will be handed down from mother to daughter for generations yet to come.

When Fitzgerald found the people bent on wreaking vengeance on those who fell into their hands, he harangued them on horseback in a manner that made an impression on them. He said to them: "You cannot bring the dead to life by imitating the brutality of your enemies. It is for us to follow them, and come face to face with them. When the time comes for vengeance, let it be taken on them." The poor people cheered, and cried out to the general to lead on. They marched to the Wicklow mountains, and halted that night on the White Heaps, to the south side of Croaghan Kinshela Mountain.

On their march to the lead mines in Glenmalure, they met with many revolting sights, particularly in the vicinity of Ballymanus. The village of Aughrim was deserted, and numbers of the inhabitants killed. It was strange that, in a county with so large a numerical force of yeomanry as Wicklow, having then about thirty corps, well armed and well appointed in every respect,

this small rebel force should march and countermarch through the very middle of it without being attacked by them.

On the night of the 24th, one division encamped on Mr. Garrett Byrne's demesne at Ballymanus, and the other division encamped in the Glen of Imaal. On the morning of the 25th, very early, both divisions marched from their respective quarters for Hacketstown. They had about 1,000 mounted men, and amongst them several who had fought well on many occasions.

The Wexford men called on those of Wicklow and Dublin, who had lately joined them, as "they were fresh men," to take the lead in the first affair that presented itself on their march. This call was responded to by the Dublin men; and their captain, John Matthews of Tallaght Hill (the friend and companion of Felix Rourke of Rathcool), led them on against a strong party of the military that had taken up a position at the bridge of Hacketstown. Twelve of Matthews' men fell crossing the bridge. Fitzgerald sent up a reinforcement of his Shilmaliers to their assistance, under the command of Captain Perry. He soon gained the other side, with little loss. The bridge was now so crowded that the men in the rear dashed through the river, and were led on by Michael Reynolds and Murphy from near Naas. Fitzgerald sent a party of the Shilmaliers to a field at some distance that ranged on a level with the barracks, and the long guns of the Wexford men were soon brought to bear on the men stationed on the roof of the barracks, and cleared it in a short time. One time several houses on both sides of the streets were on fire, and in this time of confusion

the insurgents rushed to the barrack walls to set fire to that building. They were repulsed, but quickly charged again, and put ladders up to the walls, and approached them, some under cover of bundles of straw or of feather-beds. It was in one of those attacks that Michael Reynolds received a ball through his body, of which he afterwards died. They were again repulsed. They resorted to another expedient now, which was, to make up some loads of hay and straw, and to push the cars on before them. The county Dublin men were busy about this stratagem, and as the men who were on top making the loads in the street were shot off the loads, their places were supplied as quickly by others, and some men from the neighbourhood of Rathfarnham fell in striving to perform this duty. There was another trial made by two men (brothers) of the name of Laphen, from Kilmuckridge, county Wexford (both of them lived in Dublin for years after). In this attempt they were chiefly assisted by the noted Captain Dwyer. This was the boldest and most persevering attempt that was made on the barracks, though it was unsuccessful. They planted ladders against the barracks, and were actually ascending them when they were repulsed, the ladders thrown down and the men ascending them. The firing at this time began to slacken on the side of the people for want of ammunition. Mr. G. Byrne, who seemed to have the planning of the attack on account of his knowledge of the town and all its avenues, was constantly riding through the men, encouraging and animating them, while Fitzgerald was seen everywhere encouraging the people, pointing out places to be assailed, and wherever danger was, in the midst of it. It

was in vain that some of his most devoted friends and followers pointed out to him the danger he exposed himself to. At length some of the principal commanders rode up to him, and induced him to leave the ground, which he did with reluctance, silently, and evidently dispirited. The wounded were carefully searched for, and put on cars such as were not in a condition to walk or ride. One great source of regret to the Wexford men in this action was the loss of a young man named Murphy, from a place called Ballymoulard in that county, who had performed daring feats of valour there and at other places. He was brother to the Rev. Michael Murphy who fell at Arklow, and had read his humanity, and was prepared to enter college to study for the Church, when he was hurried away by the multitude—which was far more safe for him than to stop at home. He is recorded in one of the popular songs of the time, beginning with the line:

> "On the cold ground, in Hacketstown,
> Our fine young student fell!"

And thus an undisciplined mass of about 8,000 men, including followers, half-starved, half-shod, and not one-tenth of the number provided with ammunition, made their way through the country, and maintained their ground. They marched to a place of security in the mountains that night, and next day they held a council of war, of which Fitzgerald was president; when it was agreed to march back to attack Carnew.

They delayed some time, and during that delay the yeomanry cavalry were frequently in view of them, but never came within gunshot. Needham also had his scouts out, and received frequent intelligence of their

movements, but never ventured to attack them. On one night Fitzgerald with a party of his Shilmaliers left the encampment, and took post on an opposite rising ground, where they lay down in the shelter of large hedges of furze-bushes.

The Ancient Britons having got intelligence of the rebels under Fitzgerald being in the vicinity, set out in search of them. The rebels, perceiving the enemy dashing on at a rapid rate, quickly communicated the intelligence to Fitzgerald, who instantly called on the men to get into ambush, that the enemy were upon them. At that instant there were simultaneous orders from all the leaders present given to the people to get behind the ditches, and to lie as flat as possible. Their horses were driven forward, and in less than four minutes at this part of the road there was scarcely a man to be seen. There was a breathless silence for a few minutes, and then the clatter of the horses' hoofs and the rattling of the steel-sheathed swords of the Welsh troopers gave notice to the concealed insurgents of the enemy's approach, who pressed onward without perceiving their situation, until they got completely within the power of their enemies.

The party that formed the ambush had now been perceived, and there were some contradictory orders given to wheel about and to halt, but it was too late; a volley that instant from behind the hedges was poured on them. Nothing could equal their confusion. The fire was chiefly from one side of the road. They made little or no resistance. The volley first fired was not a regular one, yet it might be said to be a continued one. For a few moments they seemed incapable of moving

in any direction. To retreat or go forward, it appeared, seemed to them impossible, for during those few moments they attempted neither; but now they endeavoured to force their horses over the hedge at that side of the road from which the least firing came. At this moment Fitzgerald shouted as loud as he could not to let them pass out of the field. The same order, at the same moment, was given by Mr. Garrett Byrne; and my informant says there was no necessity for orders, for every man saw plainly what was necessary to be done, and were right eager to do it. Holt at this time pushed himself up to the head of a column that was moving to cut off their retreat. "Steady, Shilmaliers!" was the constant cry of Fitzgerald and the other Wexford officers—and none of them were idle spectators. The pikemen now were on the road, and the few that remained there ceased to breathe. My informant scarcely heard one reply made to the many calls for mercy. He heard one person taunt them with their cruelties at Newtownmountkennedy. The few that crossed the hedge met with as little mercy in the field as their comrades did on the road. General Edward Roach remained on the road all the time, and several of the enemy fell beneath his hand.

The black trumpeter of the regiment of Ancient Britons was making his retreat good, when he was pursued by one of his enemies, who was armed with a pike. He crossed to meet the fugitive, but he had got into a bog, and his horse could not go quickly through it. The pikeman came up, and the trumpeter watched him closely, and parried off some two or three thrusts of the pike by cutting at the handle with his sword. Another

had now come up, but his pike-handle was nearly cut across. The unfortunate black however was unhorsed, and when on the ground the poor fellow cried out in his bad English for quarter; but the remembrance of his floggings was too fresh on the minds of the people—he was piked to death, and there was about fifty guineas taken from his pocket. It was said this money was to pay the troop; others said it was plunder. All was over in a few minutes; the ammunition and arms of course all taken, as well as what horses were fit for the service.

Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Byrne, and some of the leaders passed over a part of the battle-ground, looking at the work of destruction. The former stopped, and, gazing on the dead bodies around him, he said, "It is but little more than half-an-hour since these men were full of life and confidence, and looked on us as reptiles crawling on the earth."

The people who were fighting there must be greatly in error, or else Mr. Hay makes a great mistake as to the number of Ancient Britons that fell. The latter says about twenty, the former insist on double the number, and wonder that Mr. Hay was so badly informed.

The arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and cloaks of the slain soldiers were seized on as a valuable prize, and distributed among the people.

Fitzgerald had now received intelligence from some who fled before Needham's column that that general was marching out from Gorey, and putting to death all he met with. At the receipt of this news, he turned round and said to those near him, "My friends, General Needham is in front of us, and not far distant. Let us pre-

pare for him—we must settle accounts with him."

Fitzgerald pressed his men to march on without loss of time for Carnew, but they were so elated with their recent victory that he could not prevail on them to move forward. But the first enemies who appeared were the cavalry of the troops that formed the division under General Duff. Fitzgerald at once proceeded to endeavor to ascertain their position and force before venturing on engaging with them. A consultation was held among the leaders of the insurgents. It was determined to dash forward and cut a passage through the enemy. It was said that Duff's cavalry thought, at first, that they were not perceived by the rebels, and that they were only flying before one of the other divisions in pursuit of them. But in this they were deceived. Fitzgerald's men, driven to desperation, gave spurs to their steeds, rushed on them with their gallant leaders, Fitzgerald, Byrne, Perry, and Roach, and Duff's cavalry gave way; and, as I have been informed by one of the combatants, there could not have been less than 100 of the enemy slain, while the loss of the rebels was trifling.[1]

The ascendancy faction (says Cloney), had the merit in Wexford of augmenting the king's enemies by pouring the phial of their gratuitous malevolence on the devoted head of Mr. Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark. So convinced was that faction of Mr. Fitzgerald's loyalty, that Mr. Turner, a most active magistrate, appointed the 26th of May for the peasantry of the circumjacent parishes to meet at Newpark, that he might

[1] Information obtained in Wicklow for R. R. M. by Mr. Luke Cullen.

administer the oath of allegiance to them, and receive a surrender of pikes or any other offensive weapons they then had in their possession. The people did, agreeable to their promise, meet Mr. Turner, and surrender a quantity of pikes, many of which had been manufactured expressly for the purpose of giving them up, that they might obtain protections. After Mr. Turner had granted the necessary certificates to those who had taken the oath of allegiance, he repaired to his country seat, leaving all the arms he had received from the people in the safe keeping of Mr. Fitzgerald. At a late hour on the same night, after the departure of Mr. Turner, a troop of yeoman cavalry, with their captain, arrived at Mr. Fitzgerald's, and after placing him under arrest, they rummaged every nook, corner, and cranny in the house in search of treasonable papers, but did not find one atom of any description tending to criminate that gentleman. Notwithstanding their disappointment, they forced him to proceed with them to Wexford, and when he arrived there they committed him a prisoner to the common felons' gaol. While the Wexford janisaries were in Mr. Fitzgerald's house deranging and upturning everything in search of treason, that gentleman informed their captain that there were pikes and other arms in the house which had been surrendered in the course of the day to Mr. Turner, and he requested that they might be removed from his premises; he was answered by one of the intruders that they had nothing to do with them; and they then departed without taking any precaution whatever to keep the arms from falling into the hands of the peasantry, or to guard any other party of military coming there, who might

find them without being apprized of how they came there, and would most probably consume the gentleman's property, as soon after occurred.

This single fact is conclusive as well of Mr. Fitzgerald's innocence as of the exclusive loyalists' anxiety to introduce confusion and bloodshed into the county, that the Tories of all ranks might reap a plentiful harvest of plunder and confiscation. Had they entertained doubts of his loyalty, or did they wish to place out of the people's reach those instruments of destruction which were then in Mr. Fitzgerald's house, they never would have left them behind, as they could have procured cars or carts in abundance to convey them away. On the 30th May, after the retreat of the king's troops from Wexford, Mr. Fitzgerald retired to his house at Newpark; and as soon as the people discovered that he had gone home, they despatched a messenger after him to say that, if he did not immediately return, he would be put to death and his property destroyed; and in consequence of those threats he arrived the following day in Wexford. Soon after General Lake marched into Wexford, the entire property of Mr. Fitzgerald at Newpark was destroyed by a detachment of the military, ordered from the position of General Needham at Ballinkeel for the purpose of ravaging that part of the country. They burned his dwelling-house, out-offices, two thousand barrels of malt, a thousand barrels of barley, and a large haggard of different kinds of corn, the whole loss being estimated over £7,000. At the time that this outrage was perpetrated, Mr. Fitzgerald was in the town of Gorey, at the head of a considerable insurgent

force, and if he were disposed to act in a spirit of retaliation, he could have taken ample vengeance for the destruction of his property, of which he had been just then apprized. Many of those who were then under his command in the town insisted that all the loyalists and their houses should be destroyed, in return for the wrongs their general had suffered; but instead of permitting his men to injure their persons or properties, he put himself at their head, marched them immediately out of the town, and repaired to the Wicklow mountains. From those mountains Mr. Fitzgerald and other leaders led their forces against different detachments of the king's troops, in various country quarters, and defeated them in different severe conflicts—for instance, the Ancient Britons suffered a severe defeat and great loss from General Fitzgerald's force; he fought a severe battle at Hacketstown. By that and many other rencontres his force became much diminished, and he at length fought his way to the encampment of General Aylmer in the county of Kildare, and from thence to the Boyne. Early in July, a negotiation was entered into between Generals Fitzgerald, who retreated to Kildare, and Aylmer, on behalf of his associates and himself, with General Dundas, who commanded the Kildare district on the part of the government.

The following extracts from the correspondence and memoirs of Lord Cornwallis throw some curious light on the circumstances connected with the surrender of Fitzgerald, Byrne, and Aylmer:

FROM THE CORNWALLIS CORRESPONDENCE.

Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to the Right Hon. W. Pitt, 20th July, 1798, mentions the mismanagement of General Wilford with regard to the rebel leaders. There are two despatches from that officer, dated 17th and 18th July, stating that he had endeavoured to open a communication with the rebels, in order to give greater publicity to the late proclamations; and that accordingly, at Sallins, a small town two miles from Naas, he had been met by Mr. Aylmer on the part of the Kildare rebels, and by Mr. Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, a gentleman of considerable property in Wexford, on the part of the rebels of that county and of Wicklow, who were desirous of proposing terms of surrender. General Wilford says, "Mr. Fitzgerald appears earnestly inclined to promote, to the utmost of his power, the faithful performance of the conditions stipulated, and an unreserved surrender of all the arms in their possession, asserting that he was authorized by Perry, Garrett Byrne, and the other leaders in Wicklow and Wexford, to act and engage for them." He also mentioned a letter written by Lord Buckingham to Mr. Aylmer's father, with whom he had been acquainted during his lord lieutenancy, "containing many expressions of encouragement to submission, on which they have formed sanguine hopes of mercy and forgiveness," and announced that "hostilities are, by mutual agreement, suspended in the county of Kildare," until an answer could be received to the terms which were enclosed for the lord lieutenant's consideration; and that information of this armistice had been "forwarded to General

Myers, or the officer commanding at Trim or Kilnock."

Lord Castlereagh answered the same day: "I am desired to express his excellency's surprise that you should have entered into an armistice with the rebels, not only extending to your own post, but to those commanded by other officers, without having communicated with or received the lord lieutenant's authority for that purpose. Lord Cornwallis has always declined entering into any formal treaty with rebels in arms; and he cannot but express his great disapprobation of your having accredited by your signature a proposal highly exceptional and assuming in its terms, coming from leaders to whom the proclamation sent to you for publication did not apply. Aylmer, Luby, Ware, and M'Cormick, rebel leaders in Kildare, had reason to know, some days since, that upon surrendering within a certain time their lives would be spared. Although they professed, at first, to look for no further indulgence, they have since continually trifled with government, and have failed to surrender within the time prescribed. It is his excellency's command that you do return to them forthwith the proposal in question, and put an end to the armistice immediately; but as there may have arisen some delay in the merciful intentions of his excellency being made known, he is willing to extend the time for receiving their submission for twenty-four hours from the communication of your reply; at the expiration of which time, it is his excellency's pleasure that you do publish a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of Aylmer, and £300 for each of the other persons above named."—(Vol. ii. p. 365.)

In "The Dublin Journal" of the 24th July, 1798, the following announcement is made:

On Saturday, Mr. Aylmer of Painstown, Mr. Fitzgerald of Newpark, and eleven other rebel leaders, surrendered themselves to government. They are said to have given themselves up on the terms of transporting themselves for life to any part of Europe in amity with his majesty.

In "Saunders's News-Letter" of the 25th July, 1798, an account is given of the arrival in Dublin of fourteen prisoners, rebel leaders, in four carriages, who were to be pardoned on condition of transportation. The following are their names, and the rank assumed by them:

William Aylmer, Col.	Dennis Farrell, Private.
Edward Fitzgerald, Col.	Patrick Mooney, Private.
Joseph Cormick, Capt.	Richard Daly, Private.
George Luby, Capt.	James Andoe, Private.
Andrew Farrell, Capt.	Michael Quigley, Capt.
James Tiernan, Capt.	Bryan M'Dermott, Capt.
Hugh Ware, Lieut.-Col.	Peter Corkran, Private.

Aylmer, Fitzgerald, and Garrett Byrne were detained in custody in Dublin till the beginning of 1799. They were then permitted to go to England, where they remained till the 25th of March, 1800, when, at the instance of the Irish government, they were again arrested. After being imprisoned for some time, they were permitted to go to Hamburgh, where, according

to Hay, in 1803, when his work was published, they were then residing.

William Aylmer, who played a very distinguished part in several of the engagements of the insurgents in the counties of Kildare and Wexford, and especially at Ovitstown, conjointly with Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark and Garrett Byrne of Ballymanus, made terms with one of the generals commanding the king's troops in Kildare, in July, 1798, surrendered, and went into exile. He entered the Austrian service—commanded the escort that accompanied Maria Louise from Paris to Vienna, after the fall of Napoleon—visited London in the suite of the Emperor of Austria, when the allied sovereigns were there in 1814—was selected at the request of the prince regent to instruct the officers of the British army in the sword-exercise, as it was taught in the Austrian service—was allowed to return to Ireland—joined in General Devereux's unfortunate South American expedition—was wounded severely at Rio de la Hache—proceeded to Jamaica, and died there.

Like Mr. Perry ad Mr. Bagenal Harvey (says Cloney), Mr. Fitzgerald was hunted into the toils prepared for him by those ascendancy vultures, who, keen upon the scent of public rapine, were restrained by no considerations of justice or mercy. Dragged from his domestic retreat, like a common felon, without any charge being preferred against him, his house levelled

with the earth, and his property consumed with fire, by the subordinate agents of that government which was bound to protect him, it was his sacred duty as a British subject to resist such flagitious tyranny.

When he had once cast his lot with that of the people, he adhered unflinchingly to their cause, proving himself equally skilful and courageous in the field of battle, merciful to a vanquished enemy, and indefatigable in his exertions for the preservation of his Protestant countrymen, many of whose lives he saved; and so keen was his penetration, and so correct the estimate he had taken of those persons then at the helm of the state in Ireland, that he never would make any terms with them, but such as he was ultimately enabled to extort with arms in his hands.

In one of the "Fiant" books for 1799, in Birmingham tower, I find the following entry:

Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, county Wexford, and Garrett Byrne, of Ballymanus, county Dublin, a pardon, on condition of their quitting the kingdom for ever.

Dated 30th March, 1803.

After the expatriation of Mr. Fitzgerald, a first cousin of his, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, came to reside in Newpark, one of whose descendants is the present proprietor of that place.

A good deal of the property of Mr. Fitzgerald came into the possession of Mr. Hay of New Ross.

Fitzgerald and Garrett Byrne, in their exile,

continued to live in close intimacy and friendship, and to be united brethren to the close of life.

Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, and Garrett Byrne of Ballymanus, having long shared the same dangers, the same prison after their surrender, shared the same fate in exile—they left their own land together, and they never returned to it.

They resided for some time at Altona. One of the delegates of the Society of United Irishmen, arrested at Bond's on the 12th of March, Mr. Thomas Daly of Kilcullen (a delegate for the county Kildare) banished in 1802 with the other state prisoners, and subsequently permitted to return to Ireland, visited Fitzgerald and Byrne at Altona when he was himself an exile, the latter part of 1803. Mr. Luke Cullen informed me that about the year 1808, when he was in Wexford, a servant of Mr. Fitzgerald named Miles Doyle, who had accompanied his master to the Continent, returned home, Mr. Fitzgerald being then dead. His death took place, according to Cullen's statement, at Hamburgh, in 1807.

CHAPTER XIII

MEMOIR OF COLONEL JEREMIAH FITZHENRY

A MAN whose name is associated with treason in one country and perfidy in another, and was connected by marriage with the family of John H. Colclough of Ballyteigue, cannot be left unnoticed—though not honourably—in the account of the Wexford gentlemen of the Society of United Irishmen.

In a despatch of the Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley) addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, dated 8th of May, 1811, the following passages occur:

Some time ago, certain persons with whom I have long been in correspondence at Salamanca informed me that ———, who commanded the Irish legion, was desirous of quitting the French service, and of returning to his own country, if he could be assured of being unmolested by the government in consequence of his having served the French government. After some remonstrances with these persons upon the imprudence of their giving information to anybody of the existence of a correspondence between them and me, I stated to them that I could not promise that ——— should receive his majesty's pardon without knowing the circumstances

which had occasioned his departure from Ireland; but that if he would make me acquainted with those circumstances I would state them to your lordship; and if he had been guilty of no act which would necessarily prevent the government from recommending that he should be pardoned, I would recommend him to your lordship, that he might be permitted to return to his native country, with his majesty's pardon for having served the French government. ——— was afterwards taken by a party of Don Julian's guerillas, in consequence of an arrangement made by himself, and he came in here some days ago. I have had a conversation with him, in which I desired him to put in writing all the circumstances which had occurred to occasion his quitting Ireland after the year 1798, and to conceal nothing, as he might depend that every circumstance respecting him was known, and the attempt to conceal the share he had in the transactions of that period might have the effect of preventing the accomplishment of his wishes.

I have the honour to enclose the letter which I have received from ———, from which I should judge that he may have been informed of and concerned in the transactions in Ireland of that period, but that he was not guilty of any of those acts for which none of those who have been guilty have hitherto received a pardon.

Under these circumstances, that of which he has been guilty is to have served the French government, a foreign power at war with his majesty; and as he has taken a most decided line upon that subject, as the manner in which he was taken prisoner is no secret, I hope that your lordship will deem it proper to recommend him to

his royal highness the prince regent for a pardon for this act.[1]

The "persons" alluded to by Lord Wellesley as his "correspondents" must be rendered in the singular number. The person he was in communication with at Salamanca was the rector of the Irish College, Dr. Curtis—subsequently the Most Rev. Dr. Curtis.

The colonel who betrayed his trust, tarnished his honour, and deserted the service he was engaged in, was the son of a respectable farmer, in middling circumstances, in the vicinity of Enniscorthy. He found it necessary to fly from Ireland in June, 1798; proceeded to France—entered the French army—attained to the rank of colonel in it—and then became a traitor to it.

The knowledge of the name of the traitor colonel and of his friend, the correspondent of the Duke of Wellington, came to me in a very singular manner in Lisbon, in the year 1847. I was dining one day at the house of an old Irish merchant, long resident in that city, a very upright and trustworthy man of the name of O'Keefe, when I referred to the passages I have just quoted in the despatch of the Duke of Wellington, and expressed my wonder that the name of the traitor alluded to was never discovered. Mr. O'Keefe with much animation said it was well

[1] The Despatches of F. M. the Duke of Wellington, K.G., compiled by Lieut. Colonel Yurwood. Lon. 1835. Vol. ii. p. 538.

known to him. He then proceeded to inform me that during the war in the Peninsula, Dr. Curtis, the rector of the Irish College of Salamanca, passed through Lisbon on his way to Ireland. O'Keefe invited him to dinner. Dr. Curtis came, accompanied by an Irish gentleman, who was his *compagnon du voyage* from Spain, whom he took the liberty, he said, of bringing with him to dinner to an old friend. This gentleman was named Colonel Fitzhenry, and had been in the French service, but had retired, he said, with the design of settling in his own country. The rector of the Irish College of Salamanca and his protégé took their leave. But, on a subsequent occasion, Dr. Curtis (then unaccompanied by his friend) told Mr. O'Keefe that the colonel had rendered a very important service to the British army in Spain. O'Keefe did not then know the nature of the service, but it soon came to his knowledge. "Had he been aware of it earlier, Colonel Fitzhenry would never have dined at his table nor entered his doors. Dr. Curtis was wrong to have brought him there."

So far for the Irish colonel of the name of Fitzhenry who had quitted the French service under suspicious circumstances, about the date of the occurrence communicated to the Earl of Liverpool by Sir Arthur Wellesley—passing through Lisbon on his return to England with Dr. Curtis.

A little later we find in "The Irish Magazine"

mention made of a Colonel Fitzhenry said to have been implicated in the Wexford rebellion, to have fled to the Continent, to have entered the French service, and to have abandoned it, residing near Enniscorthy at his seat named Ballymacus, with a dubious kind of reputation, such as a vague suspicion of treachery to some cause, or party, or service was sufficient to establish. Colonel Fitzhenry lived for many years at Ballymacus, suspected, but not shunned, as I am informed, by the gentlemen of his locality, but looked badly on by the middle and lower classes; and there he died in 1845, possessed of some landed property, honoured with local distinction, and considered of the proper standard in his politics—up to the mark in aristocratic principles, and in religion a respectable Catholic—a small provincial bashaw of his locality, who carried things with a high hand in the exercise of his privileges and the influence which his military title gave him.

Fitzhenry figures as a rebel of some note in Musgrave's "Memoirs of Different Rebellions in Ireland" (4to ed. p. 359). Twice only do we find mention made of this gentleman by Musgrave, and not at all in the pages of the other contemporaneous writers on the lives and times of the United Irishmen, such as Gordon, Hay, Cloney, and Teeling. It would appear from this silence that "the colonel" was not much of a fighting hero—that he was a sly, stealthy, sneaking rebel

gentleman, not of that class which the old Earl of Kildare belonged to, who, in the quaint language of the Jesuit Campion, "was overtaken at divers times with vehement suspicions of sundry treasons."

The only vehement suspicion of Fitzhenry's loyalty set forth by Musgrave is an order of a rebel commissary for provisions for twelve men of Jeremiah Fitzhenry's at the camp on Vinegar Hill. It may be presumed the men were not there without their commander; but no action of his there, for good or evil, is recorded—no effort of his to save the lives of the unfortunate prisoners so savagely murdered there by the insurgents. "Commissaries," says Musgrave, "were appointed in every parish to provide provision for the camp (at Vinegar Hill), according to the directions of the committee or the commander-in-chief, and each of the commissaries had a certain number of pikemen under his command. The commander-in-chief at each camp gave written orders to the commissaries to supply the different rebel corps with provisions, of which I give the reader copies of some originals which fell into my hands:

"Mr. John Brennan—Please to send dinner for twelve men, belonging to Jeremiah Fitzhenry.

"Roach.

"18th June, 1798."

The other mention of Fitzhenry by Musgrave is at p. 370, referring to rebel leaders "in the camp" at Vinegar Hill of Roman Catholic religion, by whom he could not learn that a single instance had occurred of personal interference "to save the life of a person destined to destruction;" and among the leaders thus referred to we find "Jeremiah Fitzhenry, married to John Colclough's sister, of the ancient family of the Fitzhenrys in the county Wexford."

In Cox's "Irish Magazine" for April, 1812, the following paragraph appeared under the heading "Promotions," p. 187:

Colonel Jeremiah Fitzhenry, late of the county Wexford, commanding the Irish Guides in the service of France, has been promoted to a pension of £500 a-year for betraying his trust to General Beresford.[1]

Colonel Fitzhenry addressed a very remarkable letter, dated 1st August, 1812, to Mr. Walter Cox, which duly appeared in his "Irish Magazine" for the same month and year:

Sir—Having seen my name introduced in a publication of yours, holding me forth as a "pensioned traitor and unprincipled soldier," I feel it a duty which I owe to myself and my countrymen to refute the charge. You say, "I commanded the Irish Guides in the service

[1] The statement as to the name of the corps Fitzhenry served in is erroneous; and with regard to the pension, Cox could have no certain information of its being given, or of the amount, if it had been granted.—R. R. M.

of the French, and received a pension of £500 a-year for betraying my trust to General Beresford." It is true I was an officer in the service of France upwards of eight years, and it is equally true I did my duty on all occasions with the true characteristic of my country, honour and fidelity; and why I was obliged to adopt any country or service in preference to my own, is a question too plain to every Irishman for me to comment upon; but in the rest, sir, you are greatly deceived and misinformed—for I cannot suppose that you, to whom I am a perfect stranger, would voluntarily calumniate a man to whom you could have no personal antipathy; nor become knowingly the tool of those that might, under the semblance of a public biographer. Though few, I have yet some enemies, and those, perhaps, of the worst and bitterest kind; base interest and sordid views have converted even one of my own blood into my bitterest foe, who thinks no crime too base nor charge too gross for my devoted shoulders, to secure me a hearty portion of contempt and hatred, and thereby make me an easy victim of intended fraud. But all this I can meet with calmness and contempt, feeling, with the poet, that

> "True, conscious, spotless honour knows no sin—
> He's doubly armed when innocent within."

But now, sir, to your charge, in the refutation of which I shall not avail myself of any quibble, but reply with frankness to the substance of it: I did command an Irish corps in the service of the French, but never the Irish Guides, nor did I belong to them; and, although employed for years in Spain and Portugal, was never opposed to General Beresford, nor, as I believe, at-

tached to a corps that was. I never saw him, nor had communication, directly or indirectly, with him in my life, nor with any agent of the British government, and if I had, it would have been unearned wages, as I never was employed by it. Why I ceased to continue in the military occupation is a personal question, unconnected with national politics; and as the material occurrences of my life, particularly since I became a soldier, shall be published in France as well as in my own country, I shall then fearlessly submit my case to the scrutiny of the world. I trust you will give the same publicity to my vindication that you have to the unfounded accusation laid to my charge; and you are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

I remain, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

JEREMIAH FITZHENRY.

Enniscorthy, 1st August, 1812.

Cox, though not a man easily persuaded or imposed on by fine speeches or bold assertions, seems to have been dumfounded by this wary epistle of the colonel. He remained in astonishment and silence for three years.

In "The Irish Magazine," however, for January, 1815, p. 35, Cox returned to the charge of treachery:

COLONEL FITZHENRY.

This gentleman, who we understand lives in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, about three years since promised to account for his treachery to the French nation, in whose service he was. He has not done so, he has

deceived us, who inserted his apology at his special request. His conduct so incensed the great Napoleon, who, with all the faults ascribed to him, had most invariably patronised Irish bravery, until a Fitzhenry betrayed his confidence, the regiment of Irishmen he commanded, the post assigned to his care, with the military chest, to General Beresford.[1]

We have one instance of its operation. We have it from the gentleman who was a sufferer by Fitzhenry's treason: it is Mr. Harvey Morres, celebrated by the baseness of the senate at Hamburgh, who delivered him, with Colonel Blackwell and General Tandy, to the British government, in 1798.

Cox proceeds to state, on the authority of Harvey Morres, that after the liberation of Morres, consequent on the peace of Amiens, that gentleman returned from the Continent, and remained in Ireland for some years; that he devoted all his time to literary pursuits; that in 1811 he again made his way to France, and in that year sought employment in the French army, having previously served in that of Austria. The Duc de Feltre, then minister of war, informed Harvey Morres that the emperor was so annoyed by the conduct of one Fitzhenry, a colonel in the French service, who had betrayed the force under his command, that he had declared no Irish officer should

[1] There is an error in this statement; it was not to General Beresford Fitzhenry betrayed the corps he commanded; and probably also the statement respecting the military chest is erroneous. —R. R. M.

have any command in the French service. Harvey Morres, however, obtained an interview with Napoleon, and the result of it for the latter was the command of a squadron.

To this article in "The Irish Magazine," and the main facts stated in it on the authority of a man, such as Harvey Morres was, of high character and unquestionable veracity, Colonel Fitzhenry deemed it prudent to make no reply; nor did the vindication of his character, which he stated in his letter to Cox should be published in France, ever make its appearance. He ventured however to take legal proceedings in his own county against a person who gave publicity in Enniscorthy to statements against him similar to those of Cox. But the Wellington despatches were not then published, and the colonel's neighbours and associates gave him the benefit of the mystery in which the transaction that was the subject of those proceedings was involved.

This traitor colonel, who commanded the Irish legion in Spain in 1811, ended his days in his own country, with the obloquy of his half-discovered or rather strongly-suspected crime of treachery hanging about him.

How far the duty of a loyal British subject, the obligations of a minister of religion, the relations of amity that subsisted between Dr. Curtis and Sir Arthur Wellington, sanctioned the influence that was exercised on the occasion above re-

ferred to by an ecclesiastic in a high position, and the countenance given to an act of signal perfidy and abandonment of duty, I do not undertake to determine.

Colonel Jeremiah Fitzhenry died at his seat near Enniscorthy in February or March, 1845. His remains were interred at Ballybrennan, five miles from Enniscorthy. By his marriage with a sister of the wife of the unfortunate John Colclough of Ballyteigue he had three daughters, who survived him. The eldest married a gentleman connected with the most celebrated of modern Irishmen. The second daughter, unmarried, inherited her father's property. The youngest married a gentleman in the army.

At the conclusion of my labours, I have a few words to say of them, and for them, to my readers; and I must preface them with an acknowledgment of the liberality and fairness they have been dealt with by the press—by the organs of public opinion and political views of all parties in these countries.

If the labours of history or biography were confined to conjunctures, or events, that can be recalled with pride and pleasure, or had to do only with the conduct of individuals in relation to them, remarkable for great achievements, heroic virtue, grand undertakings, and successful struggles, we might have admirable treatises on commonwealths, and governmental systems of ideal

perfection, of Platonic or Utopian excellence, presented to us. We might have in them literary performances to admire, word-paintings of wonderful effect, fine subjects for contemplation in our studies, and helps to philosophical abstraction, when our thoughts had been turned to speculative theories of government and model republics of the olden time, and our minds had been withdrawn from the turmoil of the politics of the present period, the existing competition of trades, crafts, and professions, the battle of life for bread, fame, influence, or fortune. Such treatises on the beatitudes of particular forms of ancient government might amuse our leisure hours; and traits illustrative of the peculiar benefits, too, of the most approved constitutions of modern times might be read, no doubt, with feelings of pride and complacency. We might be led by them to exaggerate even the blessings of constitutional systems, and to indulge in delightful reveries of happiness for people living under a form of government with such elements in it of law, order, and liberty, as were supposed calculated to unite all classes of the community in one happy family. But histories or biographies of any practical advantage we should have none—of times and of men, of the world in which we live, of good and evil, of vice and virtue, of liberty and licentiousness, of power and of weakness inseparably connected, and of opposing forces and opposite ele-

ments in the whole structure of our social and political fabric.

Constituted as our commonwealth is, its human history, to be of any utility to us, must comprise the records of its particular vicissitudes, of conflicting interests, influences, and passions, as well as expositions and eulogies of the general laws of attraction, harmony, gravity, and cohesion, which control those disturbing elements. A very small part of that mission of history, which is to deal with the past and the dead with a view to the advantage of the present and the living in it, and to recall events which it behooves the rulers and the ruled to have made known to them, would be accomplished, were it to deal only with the grand achievements, commercial greatness, and success of a nation—with the wars, deemed just and necessary, which one state waged with another, the wealth it accumulated, the power it wielded, and the *prestige* it enjoyed. Perhaps to mankind the most important part of its mission is to make them acquainted with the results of bad government—discontent and disaffection, conspiracies and insurrections, with all the crimes and sufferings in connection with civil strife. Here it is that, in dealing with the worst calamities that can befall a people, history can be most useful. Here it is that benefit can be derived by all classes from the teachings of experience—warning by example—instructing in affairs of great pith and

moment, by the recalled issues of struggles involving questions of life and death, by retrospective views of evils, on the one hand arising from injustice, rapacity, oppression; on the other, from inordinate ambition, love of notoriety, an insubordinate, turbulent spirit—from an overweening vanity, temerity, false security, and self-esteem; on either hand from want of prudence, moderation, vigilance, or foresight, and that worst want of all wants—either on the part of governments or people—the want of an overruling moral sense of obligation to the divine law of justice in all our dealings with our fellow-men!

History or biography that has teaching of this kind, by its lessons can be made equally beneficial to rulers and those they govern, by intimidating misrule from pursuing the bad courses of past misgovernment—by pointing out the results that must inevitably, sooner or later, overtake oppression and injustice, imperial pride, violent courses, insolent pretensions, and intolerant principles. We have abundant teachings in these volumes of such results, and of remnants of evil of an old origin, that have outlasted the terrible policy of past English rule in Ireland; results that have survived the policy of sowing divisions among a people for the purpose of weakening, robbing, or oppressing them—of depriving them of their soil, or driving them from it, or keeping them in their own land in abject misery. In those pages in-

deed we have abundant illustrations of the mischiefs that follow and outlive state crimes of signal iniquity; such crimes as those of Pitt, Camden, and Castlereagh, of putting a people to the sword for the accomplishment of a political project, and of promoting the sordid interests of a faction used for its accomplishment at the expense of the character and legitimate power of the sovereign authority; of outraging humanity on miserable pretexts of serving temporary purposes of state; of allying government with infamous and sordid agents for aims and ends that can be only momentarily promoted by such foul means, and thus bringing the interests of the empire into ultimate jeopardy, or permanent odium and disrepute.

With these views of the last reign of terror in Ireland, its antecedents and results, of the purposes to be legitimately served by the publication of those records of the Lives and Times of the United Irishmen, I have devoted a large portion of my life to the task of collecting the materials for it, and have derived from my labours one advantage, and one alone, but quite sufficient for their reward—a strong conviction that I have done faithfully what my opinions in relation to right and wrong, the turn of my mind, and the nature of its energies, prompted me to undertake, and encouraged me, through many difficulties, to persist in endeavouring to accomplish.

Finally, in vindication of this work, and the manner the subject of it has been dealt with, let me call a witness whose testimony cannot be rejected or suspected in reference to the horrors of that reign of terror, of which accounts have been given in these pages.

In that evidence we will find what Lord Cornwallis thought of the atrocities committed by the military on the people of Ireland, and what difficulties he had to encounter in his efforts to restrain the ferocity of the armed Orangemen, and their patrons in his administration and in his council, even while the latter were huxtering with him for place or preferment, pay or pension, proffering support to his government, and exacting exorbitant rewards and wages for it.

Good people of England! for the sake of the character of your reputation for consistency, for fair dealing and fair play, for conscience' sake, for the sake of your civilization, which claims to be part and parcel of Christianity, turn your indignant regards from the wrongs of the people of foreign lands, and fix them, in a spirit of profound humility and of repentance, on the wrongs of the people of this land of Ireland, that lie at your own door.

Turn your eyes, good people of England, from "the plague-spot of Italy," from the banks of the Tiber, from the shores of Parthenopè, from the far regions of China, and the savage islands of

Borneo and New Guinea, and fix them on this island nearer home, that has been under your dominion upwards of six centuries and a-half, and ponder on these accounts of its *régime* of terror, savagery, and organised murder, given by one of your viceroys only sixty-two years ago! (See Appendix for extracts from Cornwallis correspondence.)

APPENDIX I

SECRET SERVICE MONEY EXPENDITURE

ITEMS EXTRACTED FROM AN ORIGINAL OFFICIAL DOCUMENT, HEADED "ACCOUNT OF SECRET SERVICE MONEY APPLIED IN DETECTING TREASONABLE CONSPIRACIES, PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE CIVIL LIST ACT OF 1793."

FROM the 21st of August, 1797, to Sept. 30, 1801	£38,419	8	0
And from Sept. 30, 1801, to March 28, 1804	15,128	5	1
	£53,547	13	1

THE ACCOUNT UP TO SEPTEMBER,

"PER AFFIDAVIT OF MR. COOKE."

1797.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Aug. 21.	E. Cooke, Esq., for M. . .	50	0	0
" 22.	Newell	11	7	6
" "	Mr. Cooke for Darcy Mahon	20	0	0
Sept. 1.	Mr. Cooke for M. . . .	10	0	0
" "	Kerr's wife, 1 guinea; Grey, 1 guinea; Mitchell, 1 guinea; ditto Mr. Cooke for Magowan	4	11	0

1797.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sept.	2.	Mr. Cooke for Darcy Mahon	20	0	0
"	7.	Diet and lodging bill for Mr. Smith and wife . . .	77	17	10
"	11.	Sir G. F. Hill	100	0	0
"	12.	Mr. Cooke for M. . . .	100	0	0
"	16.	Jus. Bell in search of offenders, by Sirr . . .	45	10	0
"	"	Dawes for Bird	20	0	0
"	26.	Mr. Cooke for M. . . .	200	0	0
"	29.	Watkins, for diet of Messrs. Newell, Murdock, Lowry, Hayes, Kane, Harper, Shaw, O'Brien, M'Dermot, Kavanagh, Sandys . .	228	9	11½
"	30.	Sent to Newell by post . .	10	0	0
Oct.	5.	Mr. Cooke for Magowan . .	4	11	0
"	13.	Mary Gamble, for 13 weeks' lodging for Newell and Murdock	6	16	6
"	5.	Ditto for Boyle	10	4	9
"	23.	John Coghlan of Clonard .	20	0	0
"	19.	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Verner .	22	15	0
"	23.	Mrs. Dawes for O'Brien's clothes	4	18	9½
"	"	Keeper of Bridewell for Bell Martin's diet, 21 weeks .	12	16	10
"	23.	Dawes, to send Smith to bring him to town	11	7	6
Nov.	3.	Bell Martin, to take her out of town	5	13	9

1797		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov.	4.	Mr. Dutton, by desire of Lord Carhampton	11	7	6
"	6.	Allowance for 13 men in the Tower for one week, per Major Sirr	14	15	9
"	9.	Lowry 3 gs., Newell 3 gs., and Newell (again), to go out of town	18	4	0
"	10.	J. Pollock, per Rt. . . .	100	0	0
"	15.	Ditto.	50	0	0
"	22.	Mr. Cooke for Nicholls . .	10	0	0
"	23.	Serj. Dunn of the Invalids, going with Grey to Derry	3	8	3
"	"	J. Pollock, Esq.	25	3	9
Nov.	27.	Capt. A. M'Nevin . . .	150	0	0
"	28.	Mr. Cooke for M'Carry . .	50	0	0
"	29.	J. Pollock, Esq., . . .	20	0	0
"	"	Subsistence of 13 men in the Tower	14	15	9
"	30.	Smith	5	13	9
Dec.	8.	A. Worthington, balance of account in advance . .	45	10	0
"	11.	J. Pollock, Esq., . . .	300	0	0
"	12.	O'Brien for a great coat; Grey, Mitchell, and Wheatley, one guinea each; Lindsey, two guineas . . .	5	13	9
"	"	Cooke, to send to Newell .	20	0	0
"	13.	Patrickson, for diet and lodging of Smith and wife in the Co. Wicklow . . .	9	2	0

1797		PAYMENTS.			
Dec.	14.	W. B. Swan in search of offenders	20	0	0
"	15.	Mr. Darcy Mahon . . .	50	0	0
"	18.	Smith	10	0	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke, for F——y . .	11	7	6
"	19.	R. Marshall, by direction of Mr. Pelham	159	5	0
"	20.	Jos. Nugent, by direction of Mr. Cooke	5	13	9
"	"	Smith, for clothes . . .	20	0	0
"	"	Col. Longfield, for soldiers of the Cork Militia . . .	127	8	0
"	22.	Wm. Morriss, for 15 days' lodging of Smith and wife, to 21st Dec.	14	9	3
"	23.	Mr. Collins, sent to him in London	108	0	0
"	"	W. Atkinson, of Belfast, expenses and allowance for going to England in search of Magee	65	0	0
"	"	Earl Carhampton, for Ferris	200	0	0
		(Ferris to have £100 per annum from Dec.)			
"	29.	Ben. Eves, of Blessington, what he advanced to Johnston, *alias* Smith . . .	14	4	4½
1798					
Jan.	1.	Lindsay of the Fifeshire Fencibles, returning to Glasgow	20	0	0
"	4.	Capt. Coulson	30	0	0
"	"	Serj. Chapman and John Connell	9	2	0

1798		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan.	5.	Lord Enniskillen, for Capt. St. George Cole, by direction of Mr. Pelham . .	100	0	0
"	8.	Sergeant Denis M'Gawley, of the Roscommon Militia, by desire of Lord Carhampton	22	15	0
"	"	Mr. Marshall, by desire of Lord Pelham	113	15	0
"	13.	Mr. Dutton	68	5	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke, for Mr. Higgins	100	0	0
"	18.	Mr. Cooke, for Jus. Bell .	50	0	0
"	20.	Wheatley, Mitchell, Grey, Chapman, Baynsham, and Travers, 1 guinea each .	6	16	6
"	"	Mr. Smith	10	0	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Bell .	40	13	9
"	"	Major Sirr for Bourke . .	5	13	9
"	23.	Wheatley, to take him home	20	0	0
"	25.	Mr. Cooke for Corbett . .	20	0	0
"	27.	Major Sirr for M'Cann .	5	13	9
"	29.	Mr. Cooke for Warren . .	2	5	6
Feb.	2.	The Hon. C. Sheffington, what he paid Newell . .	22	15	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Bell . .	40	13	9
"	"	Major Sirr for Bourke . .	5	13	9
"	"	Mr. O'Bri— from the North	13	13	0
"	9.	Mr. Cooke for B. . . .	10	0	0
"	16.	Newell, on going to England	56	17	6
"	24.	Mr. Pollock for D. W. H. .	56	17	6
"	29.	Mr. Cooke (Mr. Cope) . .	341	5	5½

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 6.	Rev. Mr. Vignolles, by direction of Mr. Pelham .	6	16	6
" 8.	Mr. Dawes for Joyce's clothes	4	15	2½
" 13.	Wm. Logan, police constable, on going into the country .	22	15	0
" 14.	Mr. Philip Gahan, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	1	2	9
" 15.	Serj. Chapman, to send his wife to Cork and bring her back	11	7	6
Mar. 16.	Mr. Swan, expenses of coach and guards, etc., at Mr. Bond's	23	13	6
" "	Mr. George Murdock, by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	150	0	0
" 20.	Lowry, by direction of Mr. Cooke, on Lord Castlereagh's letter	5	13	9
" "	The two Joyces, to take them home	11	7	6
" 21.	Mr. Lee's 220 gs., by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	250	5	0
" 22.	Major Sirr, for Brennan, by direction of Mr. Cooke	22	15	0
" 26.	J. Welsh, expenses of bringing Keleher and Wilson from Cork	34	2	6
" 27.	Mr. Godfrey's expense of coach-hire to Arklow . .	3	19	1
" 28.	Mr. Cooke	100	0	0

1798.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar.	28.	Chapman, to buy clothes on his going back to Cork .	3	8	3
"	29.	Mr. Lindsay, for Mr. Bell .	20	0	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke, for Mr. Swan .	100	0	0
"	28.	Major Sirr, for Lennan and his two sons, who attended at Roscommon . . .	5	13	9
"	30.	Travers, to buy clothes on his going to Trim . . .	4	11	0
"	31.	Major Sirr, for Brennan .	22	15	0
Apr.	2.	Lord Enniskillen, for Captain Henry St. George Cole .	160	0	0
"	3.	Mr. Cooke (*qy. Mr. Verner*)	11	7	6
"	6.	Ditto, per his note . . .	100	0	0
"	7.	Major Sirr, for Doran, M'Alister, and Magrath, expenses coming home from the assizes	10	4	9
"	"	Aliver Carleton, on going to Mr. O'Connor's trial in England	115	0	0
"	"	Sir George Hill, for a man ditto	11	7	6
"	"	Mr. Dutton, going to England to attend Quigley's trial	34	11	0
Apr.	20.	J. Armit (account of Oliver Carleton), for expenses of a man sent by Sir G. Hill to attend Quigley's trial .	34	11	0

1798		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Apr.	21.	Major Bruce, for soldiers of the Cork militia, looking for Trener	1	2	9
"	23.	Mr. Brownlow, going to Whitehaven for Sampson	11	7	6
"	27.	Darcy Mahon	100	0	0
"	"	J. Pollock, on going to England	110	0	0
May	3.	George Hobbs, by desire of Mr. Rochfort, of the Co. Carlow	20	0	0
"	"	Major Sirr, for Bourke's widow, 3 gs., Edward Joyce, 1 g.	4	11	0
"	"	Grey, for clothes and lodging, by Mr. Cooke's desire .	4	11	0
"	"	Lowry, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	2	5	6
"	"	Lord Carhampton's bill to Mr. Luttrell, on account of James Ferris, to 1st of May	54	3	4
"	12.	Hon. R. Annesley, per Mr. Swan	50	0	0
"	"	Mr. Medlicott, by desire of Mr. Cooke	5	13	9
"	"	Major Sirr, for Brennan .	11	7	6
"	14.	Counsellor Townsend, what he advanced in Cork to two persons to attend O'Connor's trial	34	2	6

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
May 19.	Lowry, to buy clothes, and in full, by Mr. Cooke's desire	5	13	9
" 24.	Bill remitted to Wright, *alias* Lawler	32	17	0
" 31.	C. Brennan	22	15	0
" "	Mr. William Edgar, by Mr. Cooke's desire . . .	100	0	0
June 6.	Mr. Jennings	50	0	0
" 12.	Mr. Dutton, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	50	0	0
" 13.	Mr. Swan, by Mr. Cooke's desire	100	0	0
" "	Mr. Dennis, for Mr. Ryan's widow, by ditto . . .	100	0	0
June 15.	J. Pollock, Esq., bill from London	109	7	6
" 20.	F. H. Discovery of L. E. F.	1000	0	0
" "	Mr. Sproule	50	0	0
" 21.	Mr. Stewart, Surgeon-general, for attendance on Lord Edward Fitzgerald, viz.: Mr. Garnett, who sat in the room, £22 15s.; Mr. Kinsley, for attending him in a delirium, £4 11s.; Surgeon Leake, sixteen days, £2, attendance twice a-day . .	59	6	0
" 30.	Fred. Trench, for Bergan .	50	0	0
July 4.	J. C. Beresford . . .	50	0	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July 4.	T. M'Donnell, for eight horses, with Dr. Esmond and from Naas, 8th June	4	6	8
" "	Ensign Murray, York regiment, expenses of bringing priest Martin from Rathdrum	5	13	9
" 19.	Major Sandys, on account of prisoners in the provost .	100	0	0
" "	Earl Enniskillen for Captain Henry St. George Cole .	37	10	0
" 25.	Major Sandys, on further account of prisoners in the provost	200	0	0
" 26.	Major Sirr for pistols for Mr. Reynolds . . .	9	2	0
" "	T. Collins's bill for London .	54	17	6
" 30.	Mitchell, to pay his rent and buy clothes	5	13	9
" 31.	Mr. Sproule	30	0	0
Aug. 7.	Major Sirr, for Serjeant M'Dowall of the Dumbarton Fencibles	11	7	6
" 16.	J. Magin, per rect. . . .	700	0	0
" 17.	Ditto, ...	56	17	6
" "	Chaise and horses, with Sir T. Esmond and Captain Doyle, from Bray, and returning with the officers who guarded them	2	3	4

1798		PAYMENTS.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Aug.	18.	O'Brien for eight men, at one guinea, and three men at half-a-guinea	10	16	1½
"	"	Major Sirr, expenses of Conolly from Drogheda to Belfast, in July, and Conolly and Martin from Drogheda to Dublin, in August . .	6	18	8
"	"	J. Pollock, Esq., bill to F. Carleton, Esq., dated Newry	56	17	6
"	"	Serjeant Lodwick Hamilton, Roscommon Militia, by desire of Lord Carhampton, for attendance at assizes to prosecute	22	15	0
"	27.	Mr. Taggert from Newtownards, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	10	0	0
"	28.	Mr. Sproule	50	0	0
"	"	Cahill and Charles M'Fillan, per Mr. Marsden's note .	4	11	6
"	"	Mr. Pollock's bill, dated Belfast	56	17	6
Sept.	6.	Charles M'Fillan . . .	20	0	0
"	7.	Mr. Taggert and three others, for attending Secret Committee Co. D.	54	11	0
"	12.	Major Sandys, for subsistence of prisoners in the barracks	58	16	8
"	14.	Lieutenant Atkinson, of the Louth Militia, expenses of			

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
	bringing La Roche and Teeling, French officers, to Dublin	16	14	10
Sept. 14.	Mr. Pollock's bill, Belfast .	56	17	6
" "	Major Sandy's subsistence of prisoners	100	0	0
" 22.	Mr. Sproule	24	14	7
" 22.	Subsistence at Cork of the Hills, witnesses for the crown	74	4	9
" "	Thomas Collins's bill from London	54	3	4
" 24.	Mr. Cooke	10	0	0
" 26.	Mr. Ellis, from Enniskillen, for his expenses . . .	20	0	0
" 29.	Mr. Thomas Reynolds . .	1000	0	0
Oct. 9.	F. Dutton, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	50	0	0
" 19.	Mr. Sproule	20	0	0
Oct. 24.	Mr. Tucker, of King's End, for M'Carry	20	0	0
" 27.	Mr. O'Brien, for men—Grey, Mitchell, Travers, O'Neil, Bourke, Chambers and Lindsay	21	0	10½
Nov. 12.	Major Thackeray, his expenses from Derry with T. W. Tone	28	8	9
" 16.	Mr. T. Reynolds . . .	2000	0	0
" 17.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half year . . .	54	3	4

1798		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov.	20.	Bill remitted to Wright, *alias* Lawler	32	14	0
"	"	Mr. Nugent, to take him back to England	5	13	9
"	24.	Right Hon. D. Browne for Flattelly, who prosecuted F. French, Esq., at Castlebar, for high treason . . .	100	0	0
"	29.	Bryan Lennan, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . .	30	0	0
Dec.	8.	E. Cooke, Esq.	500	0	0
"	15.	For informer respecting O'-Neil, Major Sirr . . .	11	7	6
"	"	Mr. John Mahon, by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	200	0	0
"	"	William Plunkett for attending courts-martial at Castlebar	227	10	0
"	31.	Major Sirr for six men as Christmas boxes . . .	6	16	6
"	"	Mr. Pollock for two persons, £50 each	100	0	0
1799					
Jan.	1.	Major Sirr	500	0	0
"	5.	Thomas Lennan to take him to England, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . .	12	0	0
"	12.	Grey, Mitchell, Bourke, O'-Neil, Lindsay, and Chambers	7	19	3

1799.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan.	18.	W. B. Swan, per Mr. Cooke's order	100	0	0
"	19.	Mr. T. Reynolds, per receipt	1000	0	0
"	23.	J. Pollock, Esq.	1137	10	0
"	24.	Rev. George Lambert, per Mr. Cooke's note . .	300	0	0
"	26.	Mr. Collins's bill, dated London	55	5	0
Feb.	9.	Mr. Cooke for N. . . .	22	15	0
"	"	O'Brien, expenses for three men to Bray, two days' coach hire	1	19	0
"	12.	Sir J. Blaquiere for Leonard Cornwall	22	15	0
"	15.	Serjeant Daley, per Mr. Cooke's note	10	0	0
"	16.	J. Pollock for T. W. £150, G. M. £50	200	0	0
"	20.	Earl of Enniskillen, for Captain H. St. George Cole .	75	0	0
"	22.	Major Sirr, for O'Kean, to take him away . . .	10	0	0
"	23.	Mr. Crofton, for three men of Mohill, co. Leitrim . .	34	2	6
Mar.	4.	Mr. Reynolds, to complete £5000, viz.: September 29, £1000; November 16, £2000; and January 19, £1000	1000	0	0
"	2.	Thomas Jones Atkins, per Mr. Marsden's note . .	113	15	0

1799.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar.	5.	J. Pollock for M'G. sent by post to Belfast . . .	60	0	0
"	6.	Dr. Harding, for the Hills' subsistence at Cork . .	18	4	0
"	12.	Colonel Jackson for Mr. Moran, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . . .	100	0	0
"	15.	Marquis of Waterford, for Dr. Hearn	70	0	0
"	16.	Lord Boyle, by direction of Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
"	19.	Oliver Carleton, Esq., for Shea, who was to prosecute pikemakers	20	0	0
"	25.	Mr. Marshall for Fred Dutton, per bill on Harriss, London	550	0	0
Apr.	18.	Mr. Pollock, per receipt .	50	0	0
"	20.	Right Hon. Denis Brown, for Michael Geraghty . .	50	0	0
"	25.	Sir John Carden, for Brown and Cahill	100	0	0
"	27.	Thomas Collins's bill, dated London	55	10	0
May	1.	Thomas Kearney, recommended by Sir J. Parnell, from Queen's County . .	56	17	6
"	3.	J. Pollock, Esq., for G. M. I.	50	0	0
"	4.	R. Cornwall, Esq., amount advanced by him last year			

1799		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
		to Kelly and Nowlan for information, as per account	73	18	9
May	8.	Mr. Cooke on advance . .	400	0	0
"	"	Bill remitted to Wright, *alias* Lawler, at Bath . . .	54	17	6
"	9.	Henry St. George Cole, per Lord Enniskillen, one quarter	37	10	0
"	13.	Cummins, by direction of Mr. Cooke	5	13	9
"	20.	Mr. Cooke for K. . . .	50	0	0
"	"	Mr. Richard Jennings, of London, per Mr. Robert Norman	200	0	0
"	20.	Mr. Marshall for what he paid in London by Lord Castlereagh's direction, to Dutton, and also to R. Jennings, ...	111	0	10
"	24.	Mr. Darcy Mahon, per Mr. Cooke's desire . . .	100	0	0
"	27.	Mr. Sproule, by direction of Mr. Cooke	28	8	9
"	"	Alexander Worthington .	50	0	0
June	3.	Support of the Hills, of Cork, to Dr. Harding . . .	27	6	3
"	4.	Mrs. Carey, in full discharge of Mr. Carey's demands .	100	0	0
"	5.	Mr. Pollock, account of G. M. I.	50	0	0

1799.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
June	14.	Mr. Reynolds, in full to 25th March	1000	0	0
"	"	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris, half-a-year	54	3	9
"	18.	Earl of Altamont, by direction of Lord Castlereagh, for Jennings and Commee, two priests, £50 each; Raffarell, £20; Clerk, £11 7*s.* 6*d.*, and sheriff of county Mayo, £53 3*s.* 6*d.* . .	184	11	0
June	19.	Mr. Darcy Mahon for B., by Mr. Cooke's order . .	100	0	0
"	28.	T. Collins's bill, dated London	55	10	0
July	8.	Mr. Cooke for Nicholson .	20	0	0
"	9.	Ross Mahon for the discovery of the Hardimans . . .	68	5	0
"	17.	T. Collins, bill dated London	55	10	0
"	24.	Major Sirr for Hugh M'Laughlin	22	15	0
"	25.	J. Lindsay to take him home, and in full of all demands .	100	0	0
"	"	Hugh M'Laughlin, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	20	0	0
"	"	Harper, to take to Mr. Price's, Saintfield, Co. Down	11	7	6
Aug.	3.	Mr. Pollock, for G. M. I. .	100	0	0
"	23.	Thomas Collins's bill . .	55	15	0

1799.		PAYMENTS.	£.	s.	d.
Aug.	30.	Henry St. George Cole, by Lord Enniskillen . . .	37	10	0
"	"	Expenses of bringing J. Townley and William Wallace to Co. Down, to prosecute rebels	28	6	1
Oct.	1.	M'Gucken, Belfast, per post, by direction of Mr. Cooke .	50	0	0
"	19.	Henry St. George Cole, Esq., high sheriff Co. Waterford, expenses of apprehending and convicting rebels, per Col. Uniacke	100	0	0
"	22.	Sir. G. F. Hill, for M'Fillan, Murphy, Honiton, and Birch	460	0	0
"	"	Sir C. Asgill, for Anglen, a priest	50	0	0
Nov.	5.	Thomas Collins's bill, dated Gosport	6	2	6
"	6.	Gerraghty, per Gustave Rochfort	100	0	0
"	9.	Major Sirr, for discovery of attempt to break the New Gaol	22	15	0
"	"	Mr. Marsden, to remit to—an English bank note, for £50	56	0	0
Dec.	5.	Henry St. George Cole, Esq., one quarter	37	10	0
"	13.	Mr. Cooke	50	0	0

1799.		PAYMENTS.	£.	s.	d.
Dec.	14.	Hanlon, for 16 men at one guinea, and four at half-a-guinea each	20	9	6
"	19.	James Flannigan, by order of the lord-lieutenant . .	20	0	0
"	21.	Major Sirr, for the person who discovered Bermingham	17	1	3
"	27.	Serjeant John Lee, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	100	0	0
"	28.	Hanlon (and his twenty men as before)	20	9	6
1800.					
Jan.	3.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . . .	5	13	9
"	"	O'Brien, amount paid him for coach hire with prisoners, per account, vouched by Major Sirr	19	4	0
"	7.	Mr. Cooke, for K. . . .	50	0	0
"	19.	H. St. George Cole, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	200	0	0
"	"	Justice Drury	100	0	0
"	21.	Mr. Pollock, for M'Gucken .	100	0	0
"	27.	Colonel Uniacke, for prosecutors, Co. Waterford . .	200	0	0
"	31.	Henry St. George Cole . .	37	10	0
Feb.	7.	Lord Carhampton, bill for Ferris's allowance, half-year	54	3	4
"	9.	Mr. Cooke, for Fitzgerald .	250	0	0
"	24.	Colonel Fitzgerald, of North Cork Militia, for the mother			

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£.	s.	d.
	of Serjeant Moore, killed in taking a rebel	25	0	0
Feb. 27.	Mr. Cooke, for M. N. . .	100	0	0
Mar. 6.	J. Baker, Col. Uniacke's note	100	0	0
" 14.	Capt. W. Harris, of the Killeshandra cavalry, expenses of bringing up Matthew Tone, September, 1798 .	20	6	3
" "	Watkins, for Mr. Dease and Mr. Waldron's diet and lodging, December and January, to the 24th February	105	18	5
" 18.	Mr. Archer, high sheriff, Co. Wicklow	100	0	0
" 21.	J. Pollock, for T. W. . . .	200	0	0
April 1.	M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
" 3.	Coleman, per letter from E. D. Wilson, Esq. . . .	11	7	6
" "	Clothes for Coleman and Burns, in the Tower, per Major Sirr	3	9	1
" "	Mr. Thomas Collins's bill, dated Dominica	55	17	6
" 16.	Sir Richard Musgrave, for Michael Burke, to take him to England	5	13	9
" "	Ditto for ditto, 13 weeks' allowance in advance, from 12th April	14	15	9
" 19.	Hon. W. W. Pole, for informers, Queen's County .	100	0	0

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
April 21.	Mr. Ram, for Serjeant Tuttle, who prosecuted Wexford rebels	22	15	0
May 2.	Lord Rossmore, for the widow Portland, whose house at Newtown Mount Kennedy was destroyed by the officer commanding when the rebels attacked the town . .	10	0	0
" "	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
" 5.	Henry St. George Cole, by Col. Uniacke	200	0	0
" 22.	Andrew M'Neven, by post to Carrickfergus . . .	300	0	0
" 23.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . . .	10	0	0
June 11.	M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
" "	Coleman	11	7	6
" 17.	Col. Jones, Leitrim Militia, expenses of executing Dunn and Cottin, two rebels, at Naas and Ballymore Eustace, December, 1799 . .	10	0	0
" "	Earl Carhampton, for Ferris, half-a-year	54	3	4
July 1.	Bryan Lennon, in full and positive discharge of all demands	11	7	6
" 16.	Alexander M'Donnell, per Mr. Marsden	150	0	0

1800.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July	17.	Major Sirr, for Edward Boyle, Michael Fagan, Michael Higgins, Daniel Gore, James Murphy, John Kearney, 30 gs. each, in full discharge of their claims for service . . .	204	15	0
"	21.	Mr. Pollock, for M'G. . .	100	0	0
"	23.	Dr. Harding, from Cork, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	500	0	0
"	24.	Mr. Pollock, for T. W. . .	100	0	0
"	26.	Isaac Heron, a young man taken up and confined in the tower instead of another person, who dropped a paper in England, signed Colclough	11	7	6
Aug.	2.	Major Sirr, to take men to Hacketstown	22	15	0
"	4.	R. Harper, to take him to the assizes, Co. Down, and back	17	1	3
"	7.	H. St. George Cole . . .	37	10	0
"	18.	James Edward Hill, from Cork	5	13	9
"	27.	Major Sirr, per Mr. Trevor, for ———	56	17	6
Sept.	11.	Magan, per Mr. Higgins .	300	0	0
Oct.	1.	Mr. Marsden, for Murphy, who was sent from London	20	0	0
"	13.	Mr. Cooke	200	0	0

1800.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Oct.	14.	Captain Fitzgerald, per Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
"	18.	Murphy from London, by desire of Mr. Marsden . .	11	7	6
"	23.	Murphy, to return to London	22	15	0
"	24.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . . .	20	0	0
"	"	Henry Laverty, from Portaferry, by Lord Castlereagh's desire	5	13	9
Nov.	2.	N. per Mr. Cooke's note . .	30	0	0
"	7.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter to October . .	37	10	0
"	14.	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris, half-a-year	54	3	4
"	"	Mr. Cooke	200	0	0
Nov.	18.	Neville, for Ann Lewis, £300, for W. Pollen £200, per receipt	500	0	0
Dec.	3.	George Clibborn, per receipt	500	0	0
"	24.	W. Wright, remitted to him per his letter	54	15	0
1801.					
Jan.	1.	M'Gucken, per post to Belfast	100	0	0
"	"	A. M'Neven, Carrickfergus, per his letter	140	10	0
"	"	Justice Drury	100	0	0
"	5.	Major Swan	113	15	0
Feb.	1.	Mr. Dudley Hill, of Carlow, expenses incurred under the order of Sir Charles Asgill, in 1798	55	17	2

Bartholomew Teeling

From an Engraving by T. H. Lynch after a Miniature in the Possession of the Teeling Family

1801		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb.	5.	Wheatley, in full of all demands	115	2	9
"	12.	Manders, washing for Hughes and Conlan	11	7	6
"	13.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . . .	20	0	0
Mar.	2.	To bury Chambers . . .	5	13	9
"	10.	Major Sirr, for Nowlan, who prosecuted at Dundalk .	17	1	3
May.	12.	Mr. Whitley, by direction of Mr. Cooke	40	19	0
"	14.	Haughton, to release his clothes, to go to Trim assizes	5	13	9
"	16.	Hayden, a woman who gave information of the murderers of Colonel St. George	20	0	0
"	21.	Major Sirr, maintenance, etc., of James O'Brien in gaol	21	2	6
"	"	Mr. Cooke, for F. . . .	200	0	0
Apr.	27.	Mr. Archer, late sheriff, Co. Wicklow	70	0	0
"	30.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
May	5.	Henry St. George Cole, per Col. Uniacke	200	0	0
"	20.	Lord Carhampton, draft for Ferris	54	3	4
"	28.	Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, Roman Catholic priest, of Cork, at Mallow	100	0	0

1801.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
June	1.	Lord Tyrawley, for Rev. Charles Doran, Roman Catholic priest, at Monastereven, instead of a warrant of concordatum for the last year	20	0	0
"	9.	Mr. Marsden, for Cody . .	200	0	0
"	16.	Mr. Pollock, for T. W., repaid from pension . .			
July	8.	James Corran, from Portaferry, by Lord Castlereagh's recommendation .	20	0	0
"	"	To Chapman in Cork, for one year and eleven weeks, at one guinea, per Mr. Turner	71	13	3
"	25.	Mr. Cooke, for K. . . .	100	0	0
"	27.	J. Bell, by direction of Mr. Cooke	200	0	0
Aug.	8.	Mr. Pollock, for Stockdale .	5	13	9
"	10.	Mr. Marshall, what he paid for the *Beauties of the Press*	1	2	9
"	20.	W. Corbett, by directions of Mr. Cooke	358	10	0
"	21.	Edward Lennan, to take him out of town, per Mr. Trevor	3	8	3
"	27.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0

1801.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sept.	16.	Dr. Macartney of Antrim, for candles and firing for a guard in 1796 . . .	1	13	0
"	"	Lord Longueville for the Rev. Michael Barry, priest at Middleton	100	0	0
"	"	Thomas King, Esq., of Rathdrum, by order of Lord Cornwallis	300	0.	0
"	30.	Mr. Cooke, what he gave to Whelan in London . .	21	13	4
Total amount applied, according to Act of Parliament, from 20th August, 1797, *to 30th September,* 1801, *per affidavit of Edward Cooke, Esq., lodged in the Treasury* £38.			419	8	0
Oct.	10.	Bryan O'Reilly, of Lord ——— yeomanry, who apprehended William Maroney, by Sir C. Asgill's letter	56	17	6
Oct.	19.	Hanlon, to bury E. Lennan .	1	2	9
"	30.	J. Keogh, per receipt . .	100	0	0
"	"	To the Cushmore corps, for apprehending rebels and robbers, by R. Power, sheriff, Co. Waterford .	91	0	0
Nov.	7.	Hon. Denis Brown, for informer against Rt. Jordan	102	7	6
"	18.	Henry St. George Cole, one			

1801.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
		quarter	37	10	0
Nov.	25.	Lord Carhampton's bill for James Ferris, half-a-year .	54	3	4
Dec.	5.	W. Wright (*alias* Lawler) per bill remitted to him in London	55	5	0
"	9.	Campbell, for the use of his rooms in the Castle, for Conlan, Hughes, etc., since June, 1798	22	15	0
"	12.	Richard Campsie, in full of all his claims, by desire of Mr. Abbott . . .	56	17	6
"	31.	Major Sirr, to discharge two men on his list, who were employed in the Co. at one guinea each	56	17	6
1802.					
Jan.	28.	Justice Drury	100	0	0
Feb.	6.	Bryan Ford, who came from Lord Harburton, in full of all claims	68	5	0
"	"	John Hughes, ditto . .	200	0	0
"	8.	John Cranny, of Athy, ditto	34	2	6
"	10.	Henry St. George Cole . .	37	10	0
"	11.	Mitchell, in full of his claims on Government	100	0	0
"	"	Captain Graham, what he advanced to Henry O'Hara, of Antrim, per Dr. Macartney's letter	57	17	6

1802.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb.	11.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
"	13.	Mr. Cassidy, for the Rev. Mr. Doran of Monastereven, recommended by Lord Tyrawley	50	0	0
Feb.	13.	Coleman from Carrickfergus	5	13	9
"	"	Major Sirr, for John Beckett, Mrs. Lennan, Mrs. Dunn, C. M'Gauran, John Kearney, and Dan Cart—, in full of their claims on Government	328	8	9
"	20.	J. M'Gucken, to replace £100 advanced to him 16th May, 1801, but afterwards stopped out of his pension	100	0	0
"	"	Mr. W. Corbett, per agreement, by Mr. Pollock, relative to Stockdale . . .	100	0	0
"	"	Campbell, for lodging of Hughes and Conlan . .	22	15	0
"	"	Worthington, for account of Boyle	50	0	0
"	"	Major Sirr, for Mrs. O'Brien, John Neill, Francis Devlin, John Coughlan, and T. H. Jackson, in full of their claims	300	0	0
"	"	Sir Richard Musgrave, for Michael Burke, in full of his claims	113	15	0

1802.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 20.	Marquis Waterford, for sub-sheriff and expenses of the sheriff of the county . .	162	0	0
Mar. 27.	Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, parish priest of Mallow	100	0	0
Apr. 3.	Lord Mayor, for R. Lowther	22	15	0
" 8.	J. C. Beresford, Esq., amount of an account of money expended for Government, between 1798 and 1802 .	470	11	8½
" 27.	Richard Grandy . . .	100	0	0
June 2.	Coleman, in full of claims for his services (appointed tide-waiter)	34	2	6
" "	Hon. St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
" 14.	Bridget Dolan, per Captain Wainwright, Co. Wicklow	22	15	0
" 24.	Thomas Little, of Court Duff, Co. Kildare, for exertions in bringing offenders to justice	100	0	0
July 7.	Captain Prendergast, Tipperary Militia, expenses on actions against him, for proceedings,—rebels . . .	34	2	6
July 14.	J. Kelly, from Carlow, in full of his claims (made a gauger)	113	15	0

1802		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July	14.	James Corran, of Portaferry, an annual allowance engaged to him by Lord Castlereagh	20	0	0
"	19.	Earl Carhampton's draft for Ferris	54	3	4
"	23.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
"	30.	James Edwin Hill, Philip Hill, John Hill, and Mary Hill, widow of Wm. Hill, in full for their claims for services at Cork during the rebellion (£100 each) . .	400	0	0
Oct.	20.	E. O'Neill, in full of all claims (made a gauger) .	113	15	0
"	26.	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris	54	3	4
Dec.	13.	Mr. Oliver, member for Co. Limerick, per Mr. Marsden	34	2	6
"	14.	Mr. Flint	21	14	0½
"	15.	Francis Magan, by direction of Mr. Orpen	500	0	0
"	16.	Mr. Worthington, for Boyle, in full of all claims . .	200	0	0
"	18.	Mr. Wright (*alias* Lawler), bill on London . . .	55	7	6
"	20.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
"	23.	John Conlan, in full of all claims	315	0	0
1803.					
Feb.	2.	Mr. John Stockdale, of London, for printing Sheares'			

1803.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
		trial, 1798, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . . .	46	11	0½
Feb.	7.	Richard Grandy, per Loftus Tottenham	50	0	0
"	10.	Justice Drury	100	0	0
"	12.	Mr. Pollock, for M'Gucken, an extra allowance . .	50	0	0
"	"	William Corbett (telegraph) by Mr. Marsden's directions	34	2	6
"	16.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
"	"	Mr. Marsden, for T. W. .	100	0	0
"	19.	Major Sirr, for Carroll . .	5	13	9
Mar.	28.	Captain Bruce, to remit to Londonderry, for two years' allowance to Thomas Townley, £30; James Gordon, £20; and Charles Young, £20	70	0	0
"	29.	Lord Erris, for the Rev. Mr. Neligan	200	0	0
Apr.	2.	F. Magan, by post to Philipstown	100	0	0
"	"	Major Sirr, for Wicklow Mountains	7	19	3
"	7.	Ditto for Mr. Cox . . .	11	7	6
May	2.	Mr. Marsden, for Quigley .	40	0	0
"	14.	Mr. William Corbett, for Kennedy	11	7	6
"	21.	Richard Chapman, in full of his claims for his services to Government	113	15	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
May 27.	William Corbett	50	0	0
" "	Major Sirr, for Boyle, Carroll, and Smith . . .	22	15	0
" "	Mr. Giffard, for M'Owen, of Co. Wexford	11	7	6
June 1.	Rev. R. Woodward, for Mr. Knox, for the Rev. Thomas Barry, P.P., of Mallow .	100	0	0
" 6.	Mr. Pollock, for D. and M.	20	0	0
" 10.	Henry Ellis, of Rochbrook, Kilkenny, for two years' allowance	60	0	0
" 13.	Major Sirr, for Hayden .	22	15	0
" 14.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half-a-year . .	54	3	4
" 18.	Marquis of Sligo, for persons who apprehended Thomas Gibbons . . .	56	17	6
" 20.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
" 25.	Mr. Pollock, for J. M'G. .	100	0	0
July 16.	William Wright (*alias* Lawler), bill remitted to London	57	10	0
" 28.	Major Sirr, for informer .	17	1	3
Aug. 5.	William Corbett	50	0	0
Aug. 8.	Major Swan, carriage-hire for prisoners	22	15	0
" 10.	Mr. Giffard, for informer .	22	15	0
" 11.	A. Sneyd, expense of bringing up Ferrall Kiernan, a prisoner	20	0	0
" 16.	Major Sirr, for expenses .	34	2	6

1803.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Aug.	23.	Major Sirr, for W. A. H. .	68	5	0
"	25.	Mr. Pollock, for L. M. 100, Co. Meath, £10 . . .	110	0	0
"	26.	Major Sirr, for Boylan, Carroll, and Farrell . . .	28	8	9
"	27.	John Reilly	50	0	0
"	31.	Mr. Dawes, for Nicholson .	50	0	0
"	"	Mr. Giffard	22	15	0
Sept.	1.	Mr. Flint, to send to E. . .	20	0	0
"	2.	Major Sirr, for Fleming .	15	0	0
"	5.	Earl Annesley, for Mrs. Ford	50	0	0
"	13.	H. B. Cody	100	0	0
"	14.	Mr. Marsden, for L. M. . .	100	0	0
"	15.	Major Sirr, for Fleming and others	40	0	0
"	"	William Corbett, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	50	0	0
"	19.	Mr. Marsden, to send M. G.	100	0	0
"	26.	The coachman taken at Emmet's depôt; compensation for his loss of time, etc., per General Dunn's note .	30	0	0
Oct.	8.	Surgeon Byrne, for attendance on Howley and Redmond	3	8	3
"	"	Alex. Worthington, for B. .	30	0	0
"	12.	Mrs. M'Cabe, per Mr. Wickham's note	11	7	6
"	13.	Mr. Justice Drury, going to the country	11	7	6

1803.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Oct.	13.	Dr. Trevor, for Ryan and Mahaffy	100	0	0
"	14.	Expenses of bringing up Stafford, Quigley, and Perrott	10	0	0
"	15.	Major Sirr, for informer for Howley and Condon . .	56	17	6
"	"	Do. for Pat. Farrell . .	11	7	6
"	"	Do. coach-hire for prisoners	25	0	0
Oct.	19.	Capt. Hepenstal, for the persons who discovered pikes	5	13	9
Nov.	1.	Colonel Alexander, for bringing Finney from Liverpool	15	10	9
"	2.	James Mallow, half-a-year's allowance	10	0	0
"	"	Major Sirr, for Carroll and Boylan	22	15	0
"	"	Do. funeral expenses of Hanlon	11	7	6
"	"	Do. for assistant in his office for six weeks	13	13	0
"	4.	W. Corbett, by desire of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
"	5.	Finlay & Co., acc. of Richard Jones (to be replaced to this account hereafter) . . .	1000	0	0
"	5.	Chaise for C. Teeling from the Naul	1	6	0
"	15.	Bishop of Derry (Dr. Knox) by direction of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
"	17.	Mr. Flint for K. £100 (returned same day) . . .			

1803.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov.	17.	Captain Sutherland, County Wicklow	34	2	6
"	23.	Doyle of Ballymore, for loss of time on trials, per Mr. Flint	25	0	0
"	25.	Mr. Flint, for L.	25	0	0
"	26.	Murphy, Castle Street, for five days' diet, two men from Fort George, to identify Russell	3	0	0
"	"	T. W., by direction of Mr. Marsden	100	0	0
"	"	Mr. Flint, for Fleming and Finerty	11	7	6
"	"	Callaghan, who gave information to Gen. Dunn on the 23rd July	22	15	0
Dec.	1.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy . .	25	0	0
"	2.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half-a-year . .	54	3	4
"	5.	J. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's note	100	0	0
"	13.	Major Sirr's expenses for retaking J. Murray or Morgan	23	13	0
"	16.	Mr. Flint, per Mr. Wickham's note, Cox	68	5	6
"	17.	Subsistence of Mr. Holmes and Cloney in the Tower .	4	11	0
Dec.	19.	Mr. Flint, for Farrell's expenses from London . .	50	0	0

1803.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec.	25.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy going to Belfast	25	0	0
"	31.	Mr. James Cahill, of Hospital, County Limerick, by Mr. Marsden's directions on Baron M'Clelland's recommendation	50	0	0
"	31.	Mr. Flint, for M. going to the Isle of Man . . .	25	0	0
1804.					
Jan.	11.	Captain Cole, of the Fermanagh Militia, bringing up the rebel General Clark .	17	10	0
"	13.	H. B. Cody, per Mr. Marsden's note	100	0	0
"	"	Ditto, for Campbell . . .	22	15	0
"	"	J. Pollock, for Col. Wolfe, for men taken up in the County Kildare . . .	113	15	0
"	25.	W. Corbett, by Mr. Marsden's direction	100	0	0
"	26.	Chaise from Naas, with Fleming, Cox, Keogh, Finnerty, and Condon	3	1	9
"	27.	Right Hon. Col. King, for Rev. Mr. Nelligan, of Ballina, in full	50	0	0
Feb.	4.	W. H. Hume, Esq., for William Murray, who assisted in bringing in Dwyer, etc.	32	2	6
"	7.	Mr. Pollock, for M'G. . .	500	0	0

1804.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb.	8.	Major Sirr, for Ditton to Cork (*qy. Dillon*) . . .	11	7	6
"	9.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy . .	200	0	0
"	10.	Troy, by direction of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
"	13.	Richard Grandy, by Loftus Tottenham	50	0	0
"	14.	Mr. Justice Drury . . .	100	0	0
"	"	Mr. Pollock, for E. Herdry .	100	0	0
"	15.	Mr. Flint, for Lacey . .	34	2	6
"	16.	Mr. Griffith, for Serjeant Cox's wife	11	7	6
"	21.	Mr. St. John, per Mr. Marsden's note	22	15	0
Mar.	2.	John Ditton (*qy. Dillon*) .	100	0	0

[The foregoing extracted items are the principal ones that are set down in the official returns; but such weekly charges as those of James O'Brien, for the pay and subsistence of his staff of spies and informers, and those, likewise, of Hanlon, for the same species of service, are only inserted herein occasionally, to show the nature of this expenditure.]

The sum total of the various payments, made from the 21st of August, 1797, to the 30th of September, 1801, amounted to £38,419 8*s.*

The sum total of the various payments, from the 30th of September, 1801, to the 28th of March, 1804, amounted to £15,128 5*s.* 1*d.*

The total amount is £53,547 13*s.* 1*d.*[1]

[1] In the preceding official account of recipients of secret service money, the name occurs of Mr. William Corbett. The author

thinks it right to mention that this gentleman held an office in the Castle connected with a government press for printing proclamations and other state papers requiring secrecy, which confidential post he discharged the duties of honourably; and the payments made to him, I think it right to state, were for no services which a man of honour and of humanity might not have performed. This gentleman, in bad times, was well known to persons with whom I am closely connected, and regarded by them as a man of great worth, probity and humanity.— R. R. M.

APPENDIX II

SECRET SERVICE MONEY REVELATIONS FROM ORIGINAL ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS FOR PENSIONS, GRANTS, AND ALLOWANCES.

THE receipts are generally endorsed by the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being; the date and amount are also specified, and the particular service for which the money had been granted is indicated by initials, thus:—

S. S.
O. A.
S. A.

And by the word "correspondent" or "correspondence."

RECEIPTS FOR PAYMENTS OF PENSIONS AND ALLOWANCES. COPIED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

L. M'N.

"July 5, 1816.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., seventy-five pounds, due the 25th June last. "I. W."

Endorsed, 5th July, 1816. £75. L.M'N.[1]

S. A.

This document is exceedingly important. The receipts, with few exceptions, are for quarterly payments of pensions. The pension, then, of the person who

[1] Leonard McNally.

gave the above receipt may be presumed to be £300 a-year. The initials affixed to the receipt I. W. were not those of the party who signed it, as the endorsement of the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant plainly shows, L. M'N. On the mysterious motives for the party concealing his name and using false initials, and being allowed to do so by the secretary in a receipt for a large money payment, we have only that kind of light thrown, that shines dimly in dark places; but still there is a great deal to be discerned in the three significant letters on the back of the document, L. M'N. I have compared the handwriting in the body of the receipt with that of a gentleman who was in the receipt of a pension of £300 a year, and who bore a name, the initials of which were L. M'N., and I found the writing of both were identical. In the secret service money account vouched by Mr. Secretary Cooke, I find the following entries of payments made to T. W.:—

1799.				
Feb. 16.	J. Pollock, for T. W. . .	£150	0	0
1800.				
Mar. 21.	J. Pollock, for T. W. . .	200	0	0
1801.				
June 16.	J. Pollock, for T. W., repaid from pension . . .			
1803.				
Mar. 16.	Mr. Marsden, for T. W. .	100	0	0
Nov. 26.	By directions of Mr. Marsden, for T. W.	100	0	0

I cannot help thinking the mysterious gentleman, the ghost of whose services ever and anon rises up in the

initials T. W. in the official list of secret service payments above referred to, and who so long has preserved his incognito in them, is no other than the same individual who figures as I. W. in the original receipt for his quarterly pension, endorsed L. M'N., which is in my possession. The Secretary of State, who thus endorsed that document, and made entries of the several secret service payments, may have easily mistaken the first initial, for it is only with the aid of glasses of considerable magnifying power than one can pronounce with certainty that initial is an I, and not a T.

John Pollock, whose name figures so often in the list of secret service payments, was the registrar of Judge Downes, third Justice of the King's Bench, and Clerk of the Crown *for the Leinster circuit* in 1798. This circumstance deserves attention, for, as it appears, the money which passed through his hands was always for persons in some way connected with the administration of justice, as the perversion of it and the corruption of its agents and ministers, in official parlance, was termed in 1798. R. R. M.

MALACHY DWYER.

"Received from Edward Wilson, Esq., the sum of thirteen pounds sterling, being the quarter's allowance from Government, commencing the 8th of March, and ending the 8th of June, 1818.

"Dated this 8th June, 1818.

"MALACHY DWYER."

"Received the same, this 10th of June, from Thomas Taylor, Esq. "EDWARD WILSON."

Witness present, J. M'Donagh.

The signature Malachy Dwyer is in the handwriting of a well-educated person. Particular attention might be called with advantage to the nature of the services of this man.

Mr. Patten, the brother-in-law of T. A. Emmett, informed me that among Robert Emmet's confidential agents was a Wicklow farmer, named Malachy Dwyer, but this person never was suspected. There is a very curious account of a person named Malachy (no sirname mentioned) in those very remarkable papers entitled "Robert Emmet and his Cotemporaries," published in the "London and Dublin Magazine" for 1825, and probably written by the late Judge Johnston, the author of "Roche Fermoy's Commentary on Tone's Memoirs." The Malachy therein mentioned is described as the betrayer of his friend, Robert Emmet.

Who gave the information to Major Sirr of Emmet's place of concealment at Harold's Cross? Who borrowed Emmet's pistols from him the morning of the day on which he was arrested? Who is the "Lacey" who received from the Government, on the 15th of February, 1804, £34 2s. 6d.? Lastly, who is the Malachy Dwyer, in the receipt of a pension of £52 a year for secret services, paid to him through the hands of Edward Wilson?

There was a man of the name of John Dwyer living in the Glen of Imaal, in comfortable circumstances in 1798; he was a captain in the United Irish cause. His house was burned in 1798 by the yeomanry; he was shot at Dunlavin, and all his property destroyed. He had a son, Darby Dwyer, lately living in Fleet Street, who kept a dairy. But I think we must look elsewhere for the betrayer of Emmet.

In the official account of payments of Secret Service Money, in the year 1803, we find the following item:—

"November 5. Finlay and Co., account of Richard Jones, £1000."

The same amount as that which was paid F. H., for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Robert Emmet was arrested by Major Sirr on the 25th of August, 1803, a little more than two months previously to the payment of the £1000 into Finlay's bank for Richard Jones. Who was this gentleman, Richard Jones? For whom was the money paid "to account of Richard Jones"?

In the county Wicklow there was a family of the name of Jones, of Killencarrig, near Delgany. In 1815 there was a brewery kept there by a family of that name. They were Protestants, quiet people, who did not meddle with politics.

In the county Dublin, at Ballinascorney, near where Emmet was concealed for some time, there was also a family of the name of Jones, small farmers, Catholics.

There was a gentleman of the name of Jones, the Right Hon. Theophilus Jones, a member of the Privy Council, a collector of revenue. In 1800, being in parliament, he voted for the "Union," and he was a person of some distinction in 1798. He lived at Cork Abbey, Bray. He was a humane, good man in "the troubles," and interested himself much for the people.

There were two attorneys of the name Richard Jones, living in Dublin at the period of Emmet's capture. One resided in Pitt Street, the other in Mercer Street.

A small farmer of the name of Doyle, holding about forty acres of land near Tallaght, incurred suspicion of

betraying Emmet on very slight grounds. He had afforded shelter to Emmet and several of his fugitive companions three days after the failure of the insurrection, the 23rd of July. Doyle's son kept a public-house, "the Half Moon," at Harold's Cross. Several men were subsequently arrested there under peculiar circumstances. The father died about 1839, and a pension of £50, it was stated in the newspapers at the time, fell in to the government. He gave evidence on Emmet's trial which might have unjustly created suspicions of him. When Emmet was concealed at Harold's Cross, young Dole is said to have supplied him with milk, eggs, etc.

Some injustice has been done to the memory of a brave officer who had been in the Austrian service. There was a young man named Malachy Delany, the son of a respectable family living near Mullaghmast, who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1798, and also in the insurrection of 1803; he accompanied Robert Emmet from the Continent when the latter came over to Ireland on his unfortunate expedition, I am informed by Mr. Patten. He had been imprisoned in 1803, and was liberated. He eventually quitted the country, and, it is said, got into the Austrian service. But this man, from the best sources of information, I am enabled to state, was not more brave than he was true to his principles and his associates. He returned to Ireland, and died in March, 1807, at Finglass, in the vicinity of Dublin.

FRANCIS MAGAN

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., by William Taylor, Esq., fifty pounds Sterling, for the quarter, to 24th December last.

"Dublin, January 22, 1816. "F. MAGAN." [1]

Endorsed by Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, January, 1816. £50.

S. A. F. MAGAN.

Another receipt of same party for £50, for the quarter ending Sept. 29, 1816, signed F. Magan, and initialed on the back, S. A.

Mr. Francis Magan, a barrister without briefs, a Roman Catholic, an eccentric, shy, reserved, and timorous person, lived in 1798, and till the last six or seven years, resided at No. 20 Usher's Island.

On the 17th of May, 1798, Major Sirr, from some person having received intelligence that Lord Edward Fitzgerald would be, at a certain hour that night, on his way from Lord Moira's house on Usher's Island going towards Thomas Street, or coming from Thomas Street, was likely to pass by the back premises, it is conjectured, of Mr. Magan, to Usher's Island, took his measures accordingly. Taking with him a sufficient number of assistants for his purpose, and accompanied also by Messrs. Ryan and Emerson, Major Sirr proceeded, at the specified time, to the quarter pointed out, and there being two different ways (either Watling Street or Dirty

[1] Magan has since been identified as the betrayer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. For a long account of his career and the history of the detection of his betrayal, see W. J. FitzPatrick's "Sham 'Squire."

Lane) by which the expected party might come, he divided his force, so as to intercept them by either road.

A similar plan happening to have been adopted by Lord Edward's escort, there took place in each of these two streets a conflict between the parties, and Major Sirr, who was stationed with his party at Dirty Lane, was near losing his life at the hands of W. P. M'Cabe.

But Counsellor Francis Magan's services to Government, whatever they were, were well rewarded. Besides his secret pension of £200 a year, he enjoyed a lucrative official situation in the Four Courts up to the time of his decease. He was one of the commissioners for enclosing commons. The awards of the commissioners in the various cases which were brought before them are filed in the Rolls' Office, each having the signature of the commissioners.

In the preceding Secret Service Money lists we find the following entries:—

Dec. 11, 1800, Magan, per Mr. Higgins, . £300.
Dec. 15, 1802, Francis Magan, by direction of Mr. Orpen, ... £500.

DR. JOHN BRENNAN.

"Received from William Gregory, Esq., fifty pounds sterling.

"Oct. 11, 1825. "JOHN BRENN—."

Endorsed by Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, October 11, 1825. £50. DR. BRENNAN.

O. A.

There is an evident attempt to make the final letters of the name in the receipt illegible. The Secretary's

endorsement, however, "Dr. Brennan, £50, O. A.," renders the attempt useless.

There can be little doubt but that the Dr. John Brennan above named was the well-known Wrestling Doctor, the editor of the "Milesian Magazine," who was pensioned for lampooning the Catholic leaders from 1816 to 1825. The fact of Dr. Brennan having a pension of £200 a year from Government was unknown to any of his friends till a very few days before his death. R. R. M.

DR. TREVOR.

"Received from Thomas Taylor, Esq., two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, ending March 25, 1825.

"EDWARD TREVOR." [1]

Endorsed, April 16, 1825, Dr. Trevor. £250.
O. A.

REV. THOMAS BARRY.

"Mallow, August 5, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your letter enclosing half a fifty-pound note, my half year's annunity, for which I am very thankful, and shortly expect the other section, and remain your faithful and humble servant,

"THOMAS BARRY."

Endorsed, August 2, 1823. Rev. T. Barry. £50
O. A.

The Rev. Thomas Barry, P.P., of Mallow, had a

[1] Dr. Edward Trevor died in Dublin in 1837, aged seventy-six. He had held the office of Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland for forty-six years, and in the reign of terror left nothing undone in the discharge of his functions to render his office terribly effective.

pension of £100, besides he received frequent payments for secret services (see the published accounts).

May, 1801. Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, Roman Catholic priest of Cork, at Mallow, ... £100 0 0

March 27, 1802. Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, P.P., of Mallow £100 0 0

June 1, 1803. Rev. R. Woodward, for Mr. Knox, for the Rev. Thomas Barry, P.P., of Mallow, ... £100 0 0

J. BIRD, *alias* SMITH.

"Received from the Government of Ireland, per William Taylor, Esq., one hundred and twenty-five pounds, for the quarter ended the 24th December, 1813.

"J. SMITH.

"Dublin, January 7, 1814."

Endorsed, January, 1814. £125. Correspondent, S. S.

John Bird, *alias* "John Smith," an Englishman, appears to have been sent over to Ireland so early as 1795, as Jackson had been, on a special mission. He commenced operations in his official capacity, in the columns of "Giffard's Dublin Journal." He played fast and loose with the Government and with their enemies; abandoned for a short time the cause of the Constitution and the Church, *alias* the service of Sirr and Giffard, but soon returned to his first love, as his letters to the Major plainly show, and certain original receipts would seem to indicate, for Secret Service payments, bearing the signature, J. S.

THE WIDOW JORDAN.

"Newtown Barry, November 19, 1819.

"Received from Thomas Taylor, Esq., by the hands of *Lieut.-Col. Phayre*, the sum of ten pounds sterling, in full for half a year's annuity, due to me the 29th day of September last.

"ELIZABETH JORDAN."

[Query, "The Colonel" Phayre of Mr. Finn's Orange Committee notoriety?—R. R. M.]

"Killoughnin, Enniscorthy, November 10, 1819.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to request you will remit me £10, the amount of the Widow Jordan's annuity, due on the 29th of September last, and I shall return you Mrs. Jordan's receipt for it.

"I remain very faithfully yours,

"ROWORTH PHAYRE.

"I beg to trouble you to send the enclosed to my son by the first post.

Endorsed. O. A. "R. P."

JAMES GRAY, OF DUNGANNON.

"Received from Sir Charles Sexton, Bart., by the hands of Mr. William Taylor, twelve pounds ten shillings sterling, being one quarter of my enauty,[1] ending and drew this twenty-fifth day of September, eighteen hundred and fifteen. Given under my hand at Dungannon, this 25th day of December.

"JAMES GRAY."

Endorsed, December, 1815. £12 10s. James Gray.[2] S. A.

[1] *Sic* in original.— R. R. M.

[2] James Gray made his debut on the state trial stage as a wit-

JAMES GEOGHEGAN.

"Received from William Gregory, Secretary, Esq., by the hands of Thomas Taylor, Esq., the sum of twenty-five pounds sterling, for one quarter's compensation, commencing the 5th day of April, and ending this 5th of July, 1823.

"JAMES GEOGHEGAN."

Endorsed, July 10, 1823. Mr. James Geoghegan. £25. S. S.

THE DEAN OF RAPHOE.

(*Confidential*).

"Treasury Chambers, May 6, 1825.

"MY DEAR GOULBURN,—I have received your note of this day, enclosing £25, the remainder of the moneys on account of the Dean of Raphoe.—Every truly yours,

"GEORGE HARRISON.

"The Right Hon. Henry Goulburn."

DRESSING UP A WITNESS FOR A TRIAL RESPECTING THE FRANKS MURDER.

October 24, 1825.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To one quarter's board, etc., for Mary Myers, from June 25, to September 25, 1825	5	0	0

ness for the crown at the Londonderry assizes, Dec., 1797, at the trial of a man named William M'Keever, but his evidence against the prisoner was not believed by the jury. The man was acquitted (See *Evening Post,* 23rd December, 1797).

Articles purchased for her previous to her going to Cork.

	£	s.	d.
A pair of stockings	0	2	2
Four pocket handkerchiefs	0	2	0
Cap and trimmings	0	2	0
White neckhandkerchief	0	0	10
Small shawl	0	3	4
Calico to finish gown, purchased by Mr. Marsden	0	1	7
Muslin frill	0	0	10
Rack and fine hair combs	0	0	10
Hand basket	0	1	3
Cleaning bonnet	0	2	6
Shoes mending	0	1	3
	£5	18	7

J. Matthews.

Endorsed. Mary Myers, one of the witnesses respecting the Franks murder, board and clothing three months, £5 18s. 7d. October 25, 1825.

Rev. M. Farrell.

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

"Received from Government, by the hands of William Taylor, Esq., the sum of twenty-five pounds sterling, for half year's salary, ending and due the 29th day of September, 1815.

"Edward Nicholson."

Endorsed, October, 1815. £25. E. Nicholson. S. A.

MR. SECRETARY COOKE TO MR. TAYLOR, *in re* MR. NICHOLSON.

"November 2, 1800.

"DEAR TAYLOR,—I spoke to you yesterday for £30; pray enclose it, and direct the letter to Mr. Nicholson, and give it to Dawes to deliver to-day, who knows him. I will settle the letter you sent with Lord Castlereagh to-morrow.—Yours, "E. C."

Edward Nicholson's receipt, dated September 29, 1814, for half-year's "salary." £25. Endorsed. S. A.

Nicholson's name figures twice in the official accounts of payments made for secret services.

July 8, 1800. Mr. Cooke, for Nicholson, . £20 0 0
August 31, 1803. Mr. Dawes, for Nicholson, 50 0 0
R. R. M.

JOHN WILLCOCKS, ESQ.

"Cashel, April 25.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant, enclosing half a note for ten pounds for Catherine Morony, witness in the case of three men convicted of breaking into her mother's house.—Yours, dear sir, faithfully,

"JOHN WILLCOCKS.[1]

"Thomas Taylor, Esq."

O. A.

[1] This name deserves attention.

THE MAJOR'S MEN.

Saturday July 18, 1812.

	£	s.	d.
To four men	6	16	6
One do.	3	8	3
Ditto	2	5	6
Man to Kildare	2	5	6
	£14	15	9

H. C. S.

Due to Henry Battersby, for dieting the following persons this last week, viz.:—

Winifred Kennedy, seven days, at 6s. 6d.	£2	5	6
Two children	1	2	9
	£3	8	3

"September 24, 1808.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of three pounds eight shilings and three pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY."

AN ACCOUNT OF MEN'S MONEY.

	£	s.	d.
Henry Battersby	1	2	9
James Kane	1	2	9
Patrick Farrell	1	2	9
Patrick M'Cabe	1	2	9
Mrs. Halpin	1	2	9
John Fleming	1	2	9
	£6	16	6

"May 26, 1810.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of six pounds sixteen shillings and six pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY."

AN ACCOUNT OF MEN'S MONEY.

	£	s.	d.
Henry Battersby	1	2	9
James Kane	1	2	9
Patt. Farrell	1	2	9
Patt. M'Cabe	1	2	9
John Fleming	1	2	9
Thomas Halpin [1]	1	2	9
	£6	16	6

"December 3, 1814.

"Received from William Taylor, Esq., the sum of six pounds sixteen shillings and six pence sterling.

"HENRY BATTERSBY."

[1] Halpin, originally a gardener in the employment of a Mr. Fawcett of Rathdrum, was an informer of the Major's gang. He was the man who was sent for by an Orange magistrate of Roscrea, to shoot at his own effigy, and for which that functionary prosecuted two Catholic distillers in Roscrea. (See O'Neill Daunt's book, "Ireland and its Agitators," p. 83). Also "Madden's Connexion of the Kingdom of Ireland with the Crown of England; Correspondence of Magistrates with the Government." Halpin had joined Dwyer's party in the Wicklow mountains prior to 1803, became a robber, an informer, and being suspected of treachery, was fired at by Dwyer, when the gun burst, and Dwyer lost a finger. He was a gardener's assistant, some years ago, with Major Sirr.

APPENDIX III

THE GOVERNMENTAL SPY AND INFORMER SYSTEM

THE history of the Rebellion of 1798, like that of every other civil war, whatever traits of heroism may be discovered in the conduct of individuals, is a record of crimes and sufferings, which it is not for the interest of the people or their rulers, should be buried in oblivion, however appalling its details. The evils that are inseparable from civil war require only to be regarded by both orders as calamities which extend far beyond the event of success or failure, and involve considerations of higher importance than those which are ordinarily taken into account, either by those parties who rush into revolt, or the powers who resist the just, or even the unreasonable, demands of the people. It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the evils of civil war; but it is possible to overrate the prospective advantages which are calculated on from its success, and to overlook the sufferings which are the inevitable consequences of its failure.

It is not alone in the deadly conflict, in the outrages on humanity committed in the frenzy of popular commotion, or party violence, or lawless power, that these evils are to be met with. The direst of them, the most revolting and humiliating to the feelings of all right-

minded men, are to be found in the perfidious wickedness of those wretches who rise in troubled times to the surface of society from the obscurity in which their mischievous propensities had previously lain innoxious. These are the men whom the people in revolt must expect to find the earliest in their ranks, the most prominent in their societies, violent in their councils, conspicuous where there is security, and backward where there is danger, and who, while urging on their associates, skulk behind them, and bide their own time to betray them to their enemies.

These are the men whom the leaders of the people must expect to meet in their secret assemblies, to mingle with in private, to suffer the obtrusive familiarity of, unrebuked,—whose intemperate activity it is ever a task of difficulty to restrain, whose vicious courses they cannot or dare not interfere with, whom they vainly imagine to find steadfast in their cause in the times and troubles which try men's souls, and eventually encounter in courts of justice, or trace to the portals of people of authority, shrinking from observation, and lurking about the offices of the underlings of state.

These are the men whom the agents of government find fit and proper persons, when "the times are out of joint," to defeat the objects of those who are inimical to their principles or their powers,—wretches whom it is easy to corrupt, being generally not only infamous and dissolute in their lives, but singularly open and scandalous in their infamy. The employment of such men makes it necessary to treat them with consideration, to take the tutelage of their testimony into charge, to condescend to hold confidential communications with

them, to wink at their iniquities, to seem unconscious of their venality, to work upon their vanity, to exaggerate their preposterous opinions of their own importance, and to conceal the viler features of their treachery under the veil of a solicitude for the interests of justice or the welfare of their country. If an alliance with such men involve their confederates in danger, the tutelage of their testimony cannot be otherwise than revolting to the feelings of their employers. It is impossible to come in contact with them without loathing the individuals whose services are called into requisition.

In either case the consequences of the confidence that is betrayed, or the corruption that is practised, and the use that is made of the infamous agency of spies and informers, are such, that it is hard to say whether the danger attendant on the former, or the degradation on the latter, is the evil most to be apprehended or deplored.

By the reports of the Secret Committees of the Lords, in 1793, and of both houses of parliament in 1797, it appears that the government, at a very early period, had a knowledge of the conspiracy carried on by the United Irish Societies in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster, though not of the persons who formed the directory of the former province. A regular system of espionage was adopted so early as 1795, and in 1796 there were few secrets of the United Irishmen which were not in the hands of the government. It seems to be one of the necessary results of efforts to establish secret societies, that the more the secrecy of their proceedings is sought to be secured by tests and oaths, the more danger is incurred of treachery, and the more

difficult it is to guard against traitors: the very anxiety for concealment becomes the immediate occasion of detection.

Mr. Cockayne, in 1794,[1] was the first person who informed the government of the communication between France and Ireland. The agent of the French government, the Rev. W. Jackson, broached his mission to Theobald Wolfe Tone and other United Irishmen, at the house of Counsellor Leonard M'Nally, in Dublin. The treasonable communications were carried on with M'Nally's knowledge and concurrence; the government was apprised of the fact by Cockayne; Jackson was tried and convicted, and Tone had to quit the country; but M'Nally was not molested, and being an United Irishman, and being generally employed as the professional advocate of the persons of that society who had been arrested and arraigned on the charge of treason, his means of acquiring information were very considerable, and it was only discovered at his death that government had availed themselves of his knowledge, and had conferred a pension of £300 a year upon him for his private services.

I do not here refer to the ordinary gang of spies and informers domiciled at the Tower, or in the purlieus of the Castle, under Messrs. Sirr, Swan, Hanlon, or O'Brien. These form "the hacks of the department," of

[1] Cockayne was an Englishman in the employ of Pitt, who by relieving Jackson of some temporary embarrassment, ingratiated himself with the man he was to betray. At the meeting in McNally's home Tone consented to proceed to France, accredited by Jackson, but something in the officiousness of Cockayne alarmed Tone and he resigned his mission with the shrewd remark, "This business is one thing for an Irishman, but the Englishman who embarks in it must be a traitor one way or the other."

which I shall have to speak hereafter, and "the battalion of testimony" in general. We now only have to do with the embarrassed, needy, unprincipled men of some standing in society, the "half-mounted" and "squireen" class of spies, who appeared in the witness-box in the garb of gentlemen, or whispered yet unsworn informations in the ears of Mr. Cooke, and drew their bills from time to time on demand, and several of whom, after all the enormous sums paid to them during the rebellion, retired from business on their pensions, provided with the means of a respectable subsistence.

Mr. Frederick Dutton, who at an early period was employed in the north as an informer, and had been sent especially to Maidstone to insure the conviction of O'Connor, was a regular informer of this class, a most reckless one in the case of the unfortunate priest Quigley, in whose great-coat pocket, by mistake for Arthur O'Connor's, was placed the treasonable paper on which he was convicted. Mr. M'Gucken, the solicitor of the United Irishmen, was another of the private informers, who was intrusted with the defence of the prisoners charged with treason in Belfast, and at the same period was in the pay of government—was largely paid, and ultimately pensioned; and during these frightful times M'Gucken continued to possess the confidence of the United Irishmen.

For upwards of twelve months before the breaking out of the rebellion several members of the Ulster United Irish Society were likewise in the pay of government. John Edward Newell entered on his duties at the Castle the 13th of April, 1797, and retired from them, rather abruptly, the 6th of February, 1798. Nicholas Ma-

guan, of Saintfield, in the County of Down, a member of the provincial and county committees, and also described in the report of 1798 as a colonel in their military system, during the whole of 1797, and down to June, 1798, regularly attended the meetings of the County Down United Irish Societies, and communicated to the Earl of Londonderry's chaplain, the Rev. John Cleland, a magistrate of that county, the treasonable proceedings of those societies after each meeting.

Mr. John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast, another member of the United Irish Society, was apprehended at Newry, and brought into Belfast the 20th of October, 1797, on a charge of high treason, *and the same evening was liberated on bail.* Mr. Hughes's character and *past* services, it cannot be doubted, obtained for him an indulgence so extraordinary in those times. No date is assigned to the disclosures of Mr. Hughes, which were subsequently published in the secret report of 1798; but there is reason to believe that he was known to General Barber as an informer in the latter part of 1797. On the 7th of June, 1798, this man again went through the formal process of an arrest, and was transmitted to Dublin for special service there. Another member of the United Irish Society, named Bird, *alias* Smith, had from the same period been in the pay of government, had laid informations against Neilson and several of his associates, and in the latter part of 1797, like Newell, abruptly relinquished his employment. Both refused to come forward as witnesses on the trials of Messrs. M'Cracken, Flannagan, Barret, and Burnside. Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkea Castle, at length supplied whatever evidence was wanting to enable govern-

ment to complete its "timely measures." The Leinster delegates were apprehended on the 12th of March, 1798, at the house of Oliver Bond, and the strength of the union being sufficiently broken down, there remained no decent pretext for avoiding "the premature explosion of the rebellion."

The arrest of the Leinster provincial committee at Bond's, and the leading members of the union the day following, was the death-blow to the plans of their society. Four members of the directory, on whose talents and resources alone the society could place reasonable reliance in such an emergency, were no longer at the head of its councils—Messrs. Emmet, M'Neven, O'Connor, and Jackson were in the hands of government.

One member only of the Leinster Directory, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was the recognized military leader of the whole confederated societies of United Irishmen, for a short time baffled the vigilance of the government; and when he likewise was lost to the cause by his arrest on the 19th of May, the circumstances of the society were as desperate as they could well be.

On the arrest of the four members of the old directory, the younger Sheares was appointed a member of the new one, and continued to belong to it, concerting with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others the plan of the insurrection which broke out on the 23rd of May, two days previously to which both brothers were arrested. The outline of the plan was the surprisal of Dublin, the taking of the Castle, the camp at Laughlinstown, the artillery station at Chapelizod on the same

night, and simultaneous risings in the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare.

Had Lord Edward lived to join the insurgents, the government might have had cause to regret the trial of the experiment of their well-timed measures for the explosion of the insurrection.

It is well known that the grand object of the directory of the United Irishmen was to restrain the impatience of the people, and to prevent a general rising unaided by the French. In the report of the secret committee, it is fully admitted that "until the middle of March, 1798, the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding a general engagement independently of foreign assistance; indeed, the opinion of the most cautious of their body was always adverse to premature exertion. And further on the report states, "that it appears, from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out as soon as it did, had it not been for the well-timed measures adopted by government subsequent to the proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council, bearing date 30th of March, 1798." It is necessary to ascertain what these well-timed measures were. On the examination of the state prisoners before this committee in August, 1798, the lord chancellor put the following question to Mr. Emmet: "Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection?" To which Mr. Emmet replied: "The free quarters, house-burnings, tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow!" Messrs. M'Neven and O'Connor gave similar replies to the same query.

Such were the well-timed measures adopted by the Irish government to cause the insurrection, in Lord Castlereagh's words, "to explode," when the mischievous designs of the United Irishmen Society had been long known to that government, and so fully, that one of its leading members declared in parliament, "that the state prisoners had confessed nothing which had not been known to them before." Why, then, did they not arrest the leaders of the Leinster societies long before, and prevent the insurrection which at length broke out?

This policy of allowing a people to go into rebellion, when the leaders of it might have been previously seized, and their plans consequently obstructed and deranged, is one which, in the recent commotion in Upper Canada, has been stigmatized in the British parliament as a proceeding which could not be defended on any grounds. The policy (worthy of Macchiavelli) had been acted on, however, by Mr. Pitt so early as 1794, in the case of Jackson, the emissary of the French government, who had been denounced to him by his companion, Cockayne. On Jackson's arrival in England, Mr. Pitt was informed of his treasonable designs by Cockayne, and yet he suffered the traitor to proceed to Ireland on his mischievous enterprise, accompanied by the informer, to open his mission to the leaders of the United Irishmen Society in that country, and to inveigle the imprudent and unwary persons with whom he was put in communication acts of treason.

The policy which dictated such a proceeding truly deserves the worst name that can be given to it. The duty of an enlightened minister in these days would be considered by all parties to prevent, at the onset, the

accomplishment of such designs; and where the violence of political excitement was tending towards sedition, before the heated partizan had precipitated his followers and himself into the guilt of treason, to check his course, instead of accelerating his steps. The process, however, through which the unfortunate country had to pass before a legislative union could be carried, was not to be interrupted. Two years later, Mr. Harvey M. Morres, a gentleman of rank, and a magistrate of the County Tipperary, and then of acknowledged loyalty, wrote to Mr. Secretary Cooke, informing him that the Orange and other factious societies had recently spread into that county, and were productive of mischievous results, which would involve the country in insurrection if they were not suppressed. Mr. Morres expressed his readiness to act in concert with the government in preventing such disorders, and discouraging these societies, which were exasperating the people. Mr. Secretary Cooke addressed a reply to this gentleman, which could leave no doubt on his mind that the Orange societies were under the especial protection of the government, and the result would be putting the people out of the king's peace. Mr. Morres was thanked for "this proof of his zeal and loyalty," but was informed the government saw no reason for acting on his suggestions, or availing itself, in this matter, of his services.

THOMAS REYNOLDS.

The person whose disclosures of the designs of the Leinster societies of United Irishmen Government ultimately availed themselves of, was Mr. Thomas Reynolds, a silk manufacturer in the Liberty, whose busi-

ness had been carried on at 9 Park Street, the house in which he was born on the 12th of March, 1771. On the anniversary of that day, twenty-seven years subsequently, namely, on the 12th of March, 1798, the striking incident in the drama of his public life took place at the house of his friend, Oliver Bond, in Bridge Street, where the latter and fourteen others of his associates, delegates from various societies of United Irishmen, holding a provincial meeting, were arrested on his information.[1] The following are the names and residences of those persons:—

Bond, Oliver, 13 Bridge Street, Dublin.
Ivers, Peter, Carlow.
Kelly, Lawrence, Queen's County.
Rose, James, Windy Arbour, Dublin.
Cummins, George, Kildare.
Hudson, Edward, 38 Grafton Street, Dublin.
Lynch, John, 31 Mary's Abbey, Dublin.
Griffen, Lawrence, Carlow.

[1] An incident related to W. J. Fitzpatrick by Frank Thorpe Porter and first printed in "Secret Service Under Pitt," p. 304, is of interest in connection with this arrest. "The guard which seized the fourteen delegates entered by means of a password. William Porter met Oliver Bond one day in Dublin and asked him, as a United Brother, for a list of signs and passwords employed on special occasions. Bond replied, 'Call at my house on Monday evening next, making sure to ask as you enter, "Is Ivers from Carlow come?"' Porter was on his way to keep this appointment when he was asked by Luke White to accompany him on a business matter. An hour was thus consumed and when Porter arrived at Bond's house he found it surrounded by a cordon of soldiers. It was Bond's conviction that Porter had betrayed the password, Reynolds not then being suspected, but on Reynolds' appearance in the witness box at Bond's trial, he, Bond, stretched forth his arm across the necks of his keepers and shook the hand of the man he had wronged."

Reynolds, Thomas, Culmuttin, Kilkenny.

M'Cann, John, 159 Church Street, Dublin.

Devine, Patrick, Ballymoney, County of Dublin.

Traynor (or Trenor), Thomas, Poolbeg Street, Dublin.

Byrne, William Michael, Park Hill, Wicklow.

Martin, Christopher, Dunboyne, Meath.

Bannan, Peter, Portarlington.

Bond was a wholesale woollen draper, who had acquired considerable wealth in his business: Arthur O'Connor speaks of him as "a beloved friend, whom he had himself brought into the undertaking," namely, into the society of United Irishmen. His amiable manners, extensive charities, and generous disposition, had endeared him to his fellow-citizens of all parties. He was convicted on Reynolds's evidence, and sentenced to be hanged, but was ultimately reprieved, and died shortly after of an apopleptic seizure, in Newgate.[2] The other state prisoners, in the interval between his conviction and the time appointed for execution, had entered into negotiations with government, undertaking to make a full disclosure of their plans, reserving the names of the parties engaged in them, in consideration of Bond's life being spared as the immediate condition, and with a hope of a final stop being put to the executions. This document, signed by seventy-two of the state prisoners, is dated the 29th July, 1798.

While these terms were in process of fulfilment on the part of the state prisoners (but only the day before the

2 Bond's wife was a daughter of Henry Jackson. After her husband's death, she proceeded with her children to America, and in 1811 was living in opulence at Baltimore.

document was formally signed), William Michael Byrne was executed, on the 28th of July, M'Cann having previously suffered on the 19th of the same month.

An account of the infraction of this compact with respect to the state prisoners themselves, and who had been given to understand their liberation, and permission to go abroad within a specified period, would have immediately followed their performance of that part of the agreement which belonged to them, and who afterwards were detained in prison for upwards of three years, will be found elsewhere in this work.

In "The Life of Curran," by his son, an anecdote is told of Reynolds, which gives some idea of his courage and self-possession. The account is contradicted by the son of this man, in his recent work, in a tone intended, no doubt, to persuade the world that truth and fidelity, having been banished from the domain of history, had taken refuge in the bosom of the biographer of Thomas Reynolds. This modest gentleman says, "there is not a word of truth or probability in the story" related by Mr. Curran.

The particulars of the occurrence, however, have been very recently communicated to me by some of the descendants of Samuel Neilson, whose veracity, I presume, will not materially suffer by a comparison with that of Mr. Thomas Reynolds.

The scene of the struggle alluded to in Mr. Curran's account was not, properly speaking, in "the Liberty," but in the neighbourhood of it; and instead of any personal violence having been used by Neilson in the first instance, on his meeting Reynolds in the street, he stepped before him in a determined manner, and in-

formed him that he must accompany him a little farther, to a friend's house, as he had some matters of importance to mention to him.

The friends of Neilson have a vivid recollection of his account of this occurrence, and of his manner, in describing the mode of putting the startling question to Reynolds: "What should I do with a villain who did" so and so? repeating the informer's acts of treachery to his companions; and the latter's cool and deliberate answer: "You should shoot him through the heart." The following is the version of this recontre given by Mr. Curran:—

"Upon one occasion Reynolds saved himself from the vengeance of those whom he had betrayed, in a way that was more creditable to his presence of mind. Before he had yet publicly declared his infidelity to the cause of the United Irishmen, as one of their leaders, Samuel Neilson, was passing at the hour of midnight through the streets of Dublin, he suddenly encountered Reynolds, standing alone and unarmed. Neilson, who was an athletic man, and armed, rushed upon him, and commanded him, upon pain of instant death, to be silent and to accompany him. Reynolds obeyed, and suffered himself to be dragged along through several dark and narrow lanes, till they arrived at an obscure and retired passage in the liberties of Dublin. Here Neilson presented a pistol to his prisoner's breast: 'What,' said the indignant conspirator, 'should I do to the villain who could insinuate himself into my confidence for the purpose of betraying me?' Reynolds, in a firm tone, replied, 'You should shoot him through the heart.' Neilson was so struck by this reply, that, though his

suspicions were not removed, he changed his purpose, and putting up his pistol, allowed the other to retire."

This fact is given as related by an eminent Irish barrister, to whom it was communicated by one of the parties.[1]

It is a very strange circumstance that, notwithstanding Reynolds, long previously to the arrests, had been shunned by several of the more discreet and wary of the United Irishmen, who had some knowledge of his private character and conduct in pecuniary affairs, he was still trusted by the most influential of their leaders; nay, even after the arrests at Bond's, when they were warned against him, he continued to be received by several of them as a person still faithful to their cause.

Some days subsequently to the arrests at Bond's, there had been a meeting of the provincial committee at the Brazen Head hotel, in a lane off Bridge Street. This meeting was attended, amongst others, by a gentleman residing in New Row, in the entire confidence of the directory; and from my own knowledge of his character, I should say there was no man more entitled to it, on whose authority the facts are stated which will be found in the following account.

One Michael Reynolds, of Naas, who was said to be a distant relative to Mr. T. Reynolds, and who had been particularly active in the society and useful to it, attended the meeting. This young man addressed the meeting at some length; he said that circumstances had lately transpired in the country, and steps, with regard to individuals, had been taken by government, which made it evident that a traitor was in their camp, who

[1] "Curran's Life," by his Son, vol. ii., p. 134.

must belong to one of the country committees, and one who held a high rank in their society: that traitor, he said, was Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkea Castle, and if he were allowed to proceed in his career, they and their friends would soon be the victims of his treachery. In a tone and manner which left an indelible impression on the minds of his hearers, and which the person I allude to was wont to speak of as having produced an extraordinary effect, he asked if the society were to be permitted to be destroyed, or if Reynolds were to be allowed to live; in short, he demanded of the meeting their sanction for his removal, and undertook that it should be promptly effected.

The proposal was unanimously and properly rejected by the meeting. Michael Reynolds was a young man of great muscular strength and activity, of a short stature and dark complexion, and somewhat celebrated in the country for his horsemanship.

About the middle of April, Reynolds was visited by a Mr. Kinselah, "who called on him for the purpose of informing him that one of the brothers Sheares (who after the arrests of the 12th of March, had assumed the direction of the conspiracy in Dublin) had arrived at Dr. Esmond's house, near Naas, and having called a private meeting of some of the country delegates, had informed them officially, in the name of the directory, that Reynolds was the man who had caused the arrests of the 12th of March;" upon which they resolved that he should be summoned to attend them the next day at Bell's (a public house on the Curragh of Kildare), and there be put to death, unless he proved beyond all doubt that he was innocent of the charge.

On M'Cann's trial Reynolds stated that he had been informed "the accusation against him, on which he was to be tried, had been brought down from Dublin by Michael Reynolds from the provincial committee."

When the message to attend this meeting was brought to him, his cousin, Mr. Dunn, of Leinster Lodge, happened to be with him, and on Reynolds's refusal to attend, the messengers went away sulky and discontented, and he attributed the preservation of his life to the presence of Mr. Dunn on this occasion.[1]

The next morning, Mr. Matthew Kennaa, a respectable farmer in the neighbourhood, called on Reynolds, and urged him to go over to the meeting. Reynolds again refused, and the consequence was, young Mr. Reynolds states, that orders were issued to Kennaa and one Murphy, a butcher, to shoot his father, and on the 18th of April these two men rode up to the gate. Kennaa alighted and walked up to Reynolds, who was in a field superintending some labourers, leaving Murphy in care of the horses. He observed that Kennaa seemed much confused, and was fumbling in his breast as he approached. Reynolds quickly stepped up to him, and said, "What mischief are you after now, Kennaa?" and putting his hand at the same time on his breast, he felt a pistol. Mr. Reynolds states that on doing this, Kennaa trembled exceedingly, and made no resistance to his father's taking the pistol; that he stammered out some expressions of respect for his father and acknowledged that he came for the purpose of shooting him; and yet Mr. Reynolds suffered Mr. Kennaa to depart unmolested, though there were twenty work-people in the field

[1] "Reynolds's Life," by his Son, vol. i., p. 221.

at the time this occurrence took place! There is some truth in this account, mixed up with the usual embellishments of Mr. Reynolds's lively imagination; but that it was intended to assassinate him, and that specific orders had been given to this effect, there can be no doubt.

On the 18th of March he attended a meeting of the United Irishmen, at the house of one Reily, a publican, on the Curragh, at which he produced a letter he had obtained from Lord Edward, recommending the vacancies occasioned by the late arrests to be filled up; but a discussion of a very different kind was immediately introduced, on a proposition "to change all the officers of the county meetings' committees," as it was supposed that none others could have furnished the intelligence on which the government had acted. Reynolds seconded this proposition, he being at the time one of the officers proposed to be changed. Dr. John Esmond was then appointed to the place of Reynolds, and Michael Reynolds, of Naas, in the place of Cummins, who had been arrested at Bond's. The other delegate for Kildare, Mr. Daly, of Kilcullen, was retained in office. At this meeting the question of the recent arrests was loudly and angrily discussed, and insinuations were dropped which could not leave Mr. Reynolds particularly at his ease, but not one word on this subject appears in his memoirs. He had spent the night before at Naas, and it appears from the questions put to him on Bond's trial, that, for the purpose of preserving his life, it was necessary for him to take an oath that he was not the person who betrayed the secrets of the society which led to the arrests at Bond's. He was asked about an oath he had taken on that occasion, with reference to his

denial of the charges brought against him; he said, "I do not deny it, nor do I say I took it, I was so alarmed —but I would have taken one if desired. When the United Irishmen were designing to kill me, I took an oath before a county member that I had not betrayed the meeting at Bond's.[1]

On the 3rd of May, Reynolds, on his way to Dublin from Kildare, was met by a Mr. Taylor, and warned if he proceeded on his journey that his life would be taken, as a party at no great distance were waiting for him. Reynolds returned to Naas, and Taylor proceeded to Athy, where, being mistaken for Reynolds, whom he resembled, he was attacked and wounded with a pike in the thigh. Reynolds took refuge in the house of an innkeeper of the name of M'Donnell, where he slept that night. Michael Reynolds discovered his place of concealment, and made a proposition to M'Donnell, who was an United Irishman also, to allow him and some of his followers to enter the house at night and put an end to Reynolds. M'Donnell opposed the project, and gave notice of it to Reynolds, who took all the precautions in his power for his safety, and the following morning he returned to Kilkea Castle.

But there is one circumstance connected with Mr. Reynolds's denial of the charge of betraying the secrets of the provincial committee at Bond's, which was not likely, indeed, to be found in his son's memoirs of his life, nor has it hitherto been noticed in any published account of the affairs of those times. It will be found to afford striking evidence of the baseness of this singularly atrocious miscreant.

[1] See Bond's Trial; Ridgway's Report, p. 202.

Felix Rourke, a very young man, of great zeal in the cause of the United Irishmen, was the secretary of the society for the barony of Upper Cross, in the county of Kildare, and his friend, Bartholomew Mahon, held the same situation for that of Newcastle. They were appointed to meet the baronial committee at Naas, and subsequently the provincial one, as county delegates. About the period of their latter appointment, I am informed by Mahon, a very trustworthy man, who was living in the city of Dublin in 1803, that Mr. Reynolds, in Kildare, being taxed with being an informer, or one at least of the county delegates who must have given the information that led to the arrests at Bond's, vehemently denied the charge; and the names of several of the absent members being mentioned in the course of this discussion, Reynolds fixed on the name of Felix Rourke, then almost a boy, and, from his humble station, of little influence with the leaders, and plainly intimated that he was the person who was to be suspected. The result of this intimation was, that poor Rourke, a person who subsequently sealed with his blood his devotion to the cause, was placed on his trial by his society. My informant, Mahon, was present on this occasion. Rourke burst into tears when the charge was repeated; he indignantly repelled it, and was acquitted; but Mahon states that his life was in the greatest peril.

The process by which Reynolds was led from his treason to the state, to his first partial disclosures to Mr. Cope, and ultimate complete communication of all the secrets of his society in his sworn informations, it is not difficult to trace. He had extensive money-dealings with Mr. Cope, and difficulties of an unpleasant nature

arose in the adjustment of those claims which that gentleman had upon him.

At his father's death, he owed Mr. Cope £1000; and on his mothers' quitting business, there was £4000 due to him. For these amounts, he (Reynolds) gave Mr. Cope a mortgage on a lease of lands held under Sir Duke Gifford, and a bond of his own as a collateral security. Subsequently, he paid £1000 to Mr. Cope, to get up, as he asserted, his bond, and Mr. Cope accepted that amount, agreeing to run the risk of the mortgage on the reversionary lease which had been given him. In the meantime, he continued dealing with Cope, till he (Reynolds) quit business, and had to lay a statement of his affairs before his creditors. He applied to Mr. Cope for the securities in his possession, to show to his friends. At that period, he (Reynolds) owed Cope a balance of £1000. The securities were given to him, and soon after, Cope called on him for a settlement of that balance of £1000, which he (Reynolds) then repudiated, on the grounds that Mr. Cope had received benefit from his mother's and his own dealings with him; and he (Reynolds) "had no right to have his person bound for a debt which he had no share in accumulating."

Mr. Cope protested against this repudiation of the debt, and went away stating he would renew his demand for payment in a week. He did so, and without success; whereupon Mr. Valentine O'Connor, another merchant, wrote to him (Reynolds) that he had done wrong in refusing to acknowledge the debt or give a settlement to Cope; and in consequence of this letter, he (Reynolds) immediately returned to Mr. Cope a

voucher for £1000 which he had entrusted to him. So, by Reynolds's own admission, at the time of his disclosing to Cope the secrets of the United Irishmen, he was in Cope's debt to the amount of £1000, and Cope held securities of Reynolds to that amount, on which he could at any moment proceed against him (Reynolds).

This circumstance throws a great deal of light on Mr. Cope's anxiety to turn Reynolds to a profitable account to the interests of Church and State, and to secure Mr. Reynolds's valuable life from the imminent danger which beset it while he continued in the camp and councils of the United Irishmen. Similar shifts and swindling stratagems to get rid of pecuniary obligations were brought to light at the other trials in which Reynolds was a witness. It was proved on M'Cann's trial, and partly by Reynolds's own testimony, that he had obtained a sum of money (£175) from a poor old servant woman of his family, for which he gave her his bond and a note of hand; that a wrong date was put to the note, by which it appeared, as the counsel for the prisoner asserted, that security was given by Reynolds while he was under age; and that he (Reynolds), on one occasion, had got the old woman to give him the bond to compare certain dates of payments of interest, and that he had given back *by mistake* an old bond form, which had lain in his desk as a precedent for drawing up such securities. Subsequently, he got that bond from her also, and was threatened by an attorney with proceedings for the debt due to the old woman, and had only settled that debt shortly before the trial.

The differences which had arisen between Cope and his friend and debtor made it necessary for Reynolds to keep on good terms with his creditor, and to evince an increased desire for standing well in his esteem. Mr. Cope, in the latter part of February, 1798, took occasion to accompany Reynolds to the country seat of Sir Duke Gifford, to get some signatures to the leases which had been mortgaged to him (Cope), and in the course of their journey he contrived to sound his companion on the subject of the troubled state of the country.

He described the man who could be found to give information of the designs of the United Irishmen to government as one who would be called the saviour of his country—who would have the highest honours and rewards conferred upon him—a seat in parliament, and £1,500 or a couple of thousand pounds a year from government.

Reynolds was a man both greedy of gain and ambitious of distinction, and, as his letters and conduct will show, utterly indifferent to the opinion of people of his own humble rank, but exceedingly desirous of being thought well of by the great, and of being privileged to communicate with public men in high stations, or to correspond with official persons. He intimated to Mr. Cope that such a man might be found, but he would not be known as an informer; he would not come forward as a witness against his associates, nor have his name communicated to government; he would accept of no honours or rewards; but, as "he was determined to quit the country for a time, he would require his extraordinary expenses to be paid to him, or other dam-

ages that he might receive;" and on Mr. Cope's asking him "what sum would cover the extraordinary expenses or losses?" Mr. Reynolds replied he did not think they would exceed £500, for which sum there should be liberty to draw on him. "I agreed to everything," says Cope, "and he, Mr. Reynolds, gave me then such information as he was possessed of." [1]

I think it most probable that Mr. Reynolds said no more than what he meant on this occasion; and that he really believed he might do a great service to his friend Mr. Cope, at the expense of the general interests of the society to which he belonged himself, without having to swear away the lives of his old friends and associates.

At another interview with Mr. Cope, he was induced to go on a step farther than he had done at the last meeting: he was led to make disclosures about particular societies, and eventually about particular members of them; but he still objected to come forward as a witness against them; he would, in fact, only enable the government to lay hold of these persons, and leave the odium of convicting them on the evidence of other informers. He was ready to sacrifice his friends, but not to be known as the betrayer of them: he had no objection to their being taken up on his information, and convicted, and executed, but he was ashamed of being seen in the witness-box against them. The delicacy of Reynolds's sentiments was hurt, when he was informed by Mr. Cope that he might expect to be handsomely rewarded for his information. Reynolds protested he would accept of no reward; but he had no objection to

[1] "Ridgway's Report of Oliver Bond's Trial," p. 187.

be indemnified for his losses: "I told him," says Mr. Reynolds, "that neither honour nor rewards were looked for, nor would be accepted." [1]

The arrests at Bond's of the delegates were immediately followed up by those of Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. William James Macneven, and, on the 19th of May following, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Mr. Reynolds, however, had not the merit of having brought his noble friend and benefactor to the scaffold; it was reserved for him, after the death of that friend, in his evidence before parliament, to lay the foundation for an attainder, which was "to visit the cradle of his ununprotected offspring with want and misery."

Reynolds's father had married a lady of the name of Fitzgerald, "the eldest daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald, of Kilmead, in the county of Kildare, a descendant of the Earls of Kildare, and consequently a relative of the Leinster family." Young Reynolds was sent abroad and completed his studies at a Jesuit establishment in Flanders. His mother carried on the business in Park

[1] Memorandum of William Cope, confided to W. J. Fitzpatrick by his grandson, Sir William H. Cope, Bart., "This letter mentions that my friend R., before the Privy Council, had acted honestly and fairly, and done much good; but I must impress upon his mind the necessity of his doing more. This was after he had given fair information before the Council, but insisted on his terms of not coming forward to give parole evidence. I exerted my influence, and though Mr. Cooke said to me, *'You must get him to come forward; stop at nothing*—£100,000—*anything,'* etc. I conditioned with Government for him for only £5,000 and £1,000 a year, and he is satisfied. He came forward at my repeated intercessions, and gave public evidence of such truths as satisfied the nation." A complete account of the negotiations between Reynolds and Cope will be found in "The Sham 'Squire," by W. J. Fitzpatrick, Third Edition, pp. 227–246, Dublin, 1866.

Street, or Ash Street, as it is frequently spoken of, after his father's death, and on his return to Ireland he resided with her.

In his life, written by his son, we are informed that, shortly after his return, he had taken his mistress to a masquerade-ball at the Rotundo, and had given her a very valuable diamond ornament, worth £50 or £60, which his mother had placed in his hat, and a sum, moreover, of £24 or £25, which he happened to have in his pocket. His mother, on his return, missed the diamond ornament. He "assured her it should be returned in a day or two: but nothing would pacify her: she called it robbery, and vowed she would send the constables after the girl, when he remarked that, in fact, the pin was his property, and not hers." [1] The pin, however, it is admitted, had been given to him for this special occasion by his mother the night before.

On M'Cann's trial, Reynolds said it was true he had been charged with having a skeleton key to open a lock of an iron chest belonging to his mother. He was told his mother had said so, and he had no doubt she believed what she had said. He had been accused, he said, of stealing his mother's trinkets when he was about sixteen years. He was also charged, he said, with stealing a piece of lutestring silk, to give to a girl; and the same charge regarded his mother's jewels, for the same purpose. Counsel for the prisoner said: "Then you committed the theft, and you were charged with stealing?" Reynolds answered: "I tell you the charges were made, and I took the things. But it was not true about the skeleton key of the iron chest." [2]

[2] Ridgway's "Report of M'Cann's Trial."

It was not only with his mother's ornaments then that Mr. Thomas Reynolds made free; but he was accused, his son informs us, by a Mr. Warren, who had the management of his mother's business, "of having stolen silks from his mother's warehouse"—a charge, he states, which was made at the time of the trials of 1798, for the purpose of injuring his father's credit. "The fact was," continues his biographer, "his mother and Mrs. Warren had continually gowns cut from any silks they fancied for their own use, of which no account was taken. My father had, twice or three times, a gown, in like manner, cut off for this young woman; it was done openly in the wareroom, but Warren and the clerks had particular charge not to tell his mother."

In 1794, Mr. Reynolds married Miss Harriet Witherington, whose sister was the wife of Theobald Wolfe Tone. With this lady Mr. Reynolds got a fortune of £1,500, and, on his marriage, was taken into partnership by his mother and her then co-partner, Mr. Warren. In 1797, the whole affairs of the house were in his hands. The property was then incumbered with debts, young Reynolds states, to the amount of £9,000, of which £5,000 was due to Messrs. Cope and Co. There appears, however, to have been sufficient property left to Thomas Reynolds to meet these engagements: he, however, had to enter into those arrangements with the Messrs. Cope which have been referred to, and into arrangements of a similar nature with his other largest creditors, Messrs. Jeffrey and Co.

Yet, with all these difficulties and desperate expedients to surmount, the broken silk manufacturer of Ash Street was able to become a country gentleman and pro-

prietor of Kilkea Castle. In the spring of 1797, Mr. Reynolds made an application to the Duke of Leinster for a lease of the lands of Kilkea. Through the interference in his behalf of Lord Edward Fitzgerald with his brother (though this fact is denied in Mr. Reynolds's biography), he was put in possession of Kilkea Castle and about 350 acres of land, "of the first land in the country"—on paying down a fine of £1000, "the reserved rent amounting to no more than £48 2s. a-year!" [1]—terms so advantageous as could only have been obtained by friendly interference, in some quarter, with the owner of the property.

But at the close of 1797, and only a few months after Mr. Reynolds's transformation into a country gentleman, there was one creditor of his, namely, his own mother, whose claims on that hopeful son were not settled; and in July, 1798, on the trial of W. M. Byrne, it was admitted by Reynolds, it had been rumoured that his mother had been settled by him. Under cross-examination on that trial, being asked by Mr. Bushe: "Were you accused of giving poison to your mother?" Reynolds replied, "I heard that Mr. Witherington had said so." Mr. Witherington was the brother-in-law of this cool villain, who, had he lived in the days of Palmer and Bacon, might have fared very differently to what he did at the hands of his patrons, Lords Camden and Castlereagh.

On the 6th of November, 1797, the mother of Mr. Reynolds died in Dublin, after a short illness: her medical attendant was Dr. Macneven. Her son was then from home, and did not arrive in town till the morning

[1] "Life of Thomas Reynolds," vol. i., p. 99.

after her decease. On the retirement of this lady from the business in Park Street, an annuity of £200 a-year had been settled on her by her son.

The day after her decease, her son, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, arrived in Dublin, and visited the remains of his mother. On the trial of William Michael Byrne, he was asked, on his cross-examination, if he recollected going into his mother's room (on his arrival from the country), and seeing a person taking away a bottle of wine, and running with eagerness, and saying he would take it himself, as he had sent it? To which question he replied, he could not recollect it, because it never happened. The person, however, who could have sworn that it did happen was then in Newgate on a charge of treason: that person was Dr. Macneven, and its occurrence he plainly spoke of as one of which he was cognizant. That fact I have from Dr. Macneven's own lips.

The mother-in-law of Mr. Reynolds, Mrs. Witherington, died at Reynolds's house in Ash Street, in April, 1797. On the trial of Oliver Bond, Mr. Reynolds was cross-examined at some length respecting this lady's death. The following are the questions and answers on this subject, as they are given in Ridgway's report of the trial:—

Quest.—She had a complaint in her bowels?

Ans.—She had.

Quest.—You administered medicine?

Ans.—I did; tartar-emetic.

Quest.—She died shortly after?

Ans.—She took it on Friday, and died on Sunday.

Quest.—Did you give her any other potion except that?

Ans.—No, I did not.

Quest.—Do you recollect, Mr. Reynolds, being charged, in your family, with anything touching that prescription?

Ans.—Since I have been brought up to Dublin, I have heard that Major Witherington said I poisoned his mother with tartar-emetic.

Quest.—You heard that?

Ans.—And many other ill-natured things too.

Quest.—Very cruel; but the best of men—

Ans.—May err.

Quest.—Did you hear anything about a pitched sheet for the poor old lady?

Ans.—I did; it was one of the charges of the funeral bill, which bill I paid. She was a very large, corpulent woman; she was kept till her son came to town, and she could not be kept without the sheet.

Quest.—Upon what day?

Ans.—The fourth day after her death; she could not be kept otherwise.

On M'Cann's trial, on a similar cross-examination, Mr. Reynolds stated that he had paid into her hands a sum of £300, about a fortnight or three weeks before her death. This money, it appeared, was intended to be applied by her towards the purchase of a commission for one of her sons, but at her death the money was not to be found. It is proper to state that on this trial Mr. Reynolds, in explanation of the circumstance regarding the medicine he had administered to his

mother-in-law, said that "a Mr. Fitzgerald, a relation of his family, who had been an apothecary and had quitted business, left him a box of medicines, containing castor oil, cream of tartar, tartar-emetic, and such things. He had been subject to a complaint of the stomach, for which Mr. Fitzgerald gave him a quantity of powders in small papers, which he kept for use, and found great relief from; they had saved his life, and he had asked Mrs. Reynolds for one of these papers to give to Mrs. Witherington, and it was given to her." [1]

At one or other of the several trials on which Mr. Reynolds gave evidence against the prisoners who had been arrested at Bond's, his testimony was sought to be impeached, and the following persons deposed that they did not believe him to be worthy of credit on his oath:—

Mr. Valentine O'Connor, a merchant of the city of Dublin.

Mrs. Mary Molloy, his cousin, a nun.

Major Edward Witherington, his brother-in-law.

Mr. Henry Witherington, ditto.

Mr. Warren, his mother's former partner in trade.

Mr. Peter Sullivan, a clerk of Mr. Reynolds.

The following witnesses were produced in support of his testimony, and from their knowledge of his character, declared their belief of his being entitled to credit in a court of justice:—

Mr. Cope, a merchant of Dublin.

Mr. Furlong, an attorney of Mr. Reynolds.

The Rev. Mr. Kingsbury, a clergyman, a friend of Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor.

[1] "Ridgway's Report of M'Cann's Trial," p. 28.

On Bond's trial, Mr. Reynolds gave a detailed account of the several oaths he had taken. He had sworn to secrecy on being made a member of the United Irishmen's Society. He had taken an oath of fidelity to his captains on being appointed colonel. He had taken another, before a county meeting, that he had not betrayed his associates at Bond's. He had likewise taken the oath of allegiance twice, and an oath before the Privy council once, and thrice in the courts of justice, namely, on the trials of Bond, Byrne, and M'Cann. Without disparaging the services of Mr. Reynolds, it is impossible to look upon him, except as "a kind of man to whom the law resorts with abhorrence and from necessity, in order to set the criminal against the crime, and who is made use of by the law, for the same reasons that the most noxious poisons are resorted to in desperate disorders.[1]

It would have been unnecessary to have gone into these details, but for the ill-judged efforts of those who have undertaken to represent Mr. Reynolds rather in the light of a martyr to the purity and disinterestedness of his patriotic principles, than as a reluctant witness, induced to come forward by the persuasions of an influential friend, and in some degree willing to be convinced of his former errors, and to regard the retrieval of his necessitous condition as one of the casual results of repentant guilt.

His biographer, however, bitterly complains of the treatment his revered parent received from the government. Before it was known in the country that Mr.

[1] Curran's speech against the bill of attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Reynolds had been converted by Mr. Cope from the evil of his political ways, or had been sufficiently long in the company of Major Sirr, or his domestic chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Gubbins, to become a new man, and wholly separated from the errors of his Popish ancestors, the military took possession of Kilkea Castle, established free quarters there, and spared Mr. Reynolds none of the ravages customary on such occasions.

Previously to the arrests at Bond's on the 12th of March, Mr. Reynolds took up his abode in Kilkea Castle; but the tables were turned on its modern occupant: he who might reasonably consider himself at this period the supreme arbiter of life and death, was himself treated in his own house as "a mere Irishman." His son tells us that "his father's steward, William Byrne, was flogged and tortured to make him discover a supposed depôt of arms. Lieutenant Love, of the 9th Dragoons, being a tall man, tied his silk sash about Byrne's neck, and hung him over his shoulders, while another officer flogged him until he became insensible; and similar acts (he continues) obtained for Mr. Love the soubriquet of the walking gallows." [1] As this marauding had been duly performed in the king's service, and at the period of its infliction on Kilkea Castle, its owner, unknown to the military, was a whitewashed rebel restored to his allegiance, and high in the favour of Cooke and Castlereagh, he sent in a moderate estimate of the property destroyed on this occasion, "comformably to the terms of the act for indemnifying suffering loyalty," amounting only, as his biographer informs us, to the sum of £12,760—a sum which he de-

[1] "Life of Thomas Reynolds," vol. i., p. 231.

clares with becoming gravity "would not have replaced the property lost by one-half."

Now, if this be true, Mr. Reynolds previously to the rebellion must have been worth £25,000. How did it happen that he was obliged so very recently to pass bills and notes for such paltry sums as £10 and £20 to the old servant, Mrs. Cahill?—that on giving up business he had not been able to pay off the debts of the firm, without coming to the arrangements entered into with Mr. Cope and the house of Jeffrey?—that after he had made his disclosures to government, and previously to the trials taking place, when it was so desirable for him to be then clear of the suspicion of having turned informer for the sake of gain, that he was compelled by his necessities to draw on Mr. Cope for the sum of 300 guineas, and again for another sum of £200?

On Bond's trial, when asked by the counsel for the prisoner when he had drawn for the 300, he replied that it was four or five days before the arrests at Bond's, and the time of drawing for the other 200 was when he was in the county of Kildare, "before he had been injured by the military." "But he had determined to quit the kingdom as soon as Mrs. Reynolds, who was then in her confinement, had recovered, and he wanted to pay some debts before he went away." [2]

In the second volume of his work, Mr. Reynolds's biographer states that Kilkea Castle, of which he had a lease for three lives renewable for ever—estimating the 360 acres of land at 26*s.* per acre, at only twenty years' purchase, was worth £8,100. That the property destroyed by the troops, "duly certified," amounted to

[2] "Ridgway's Report of Bond's Trial," p. 195.

£12,760; and these two sums, he says, make a total of £19,860 actual *bonâ fide* loss, not to mention other losses which he has shown in the body of his work. "Now," he asks, "what has his father received? A sum of £500, paid to him at the time when he expected to be enabled to quit Ireland till the storm had blown over, and an annuity of £1,000 Irish, or £920 English, with reversion to my mother, my brother, and myself."

The statement of the sacrifice of property to the amount of £19,860, some forty years ago, might have been of some avail, but it would be as difficult a matter now to sustain it as to turn it to any profitable account. Mr. Moore and Dr. Taylor, the able author of the "History of the Civil Wars of Ireland," have unhappily fallen under the displeasure of young Mr. Reynolds, for presuming to think that the necessities of his father had no slight share in the proceedings which caused Reynolds to appear to Mr. Cope as "a man who would and ought to be placed higher in his country than any man that ever was in it."

His biographer has put some very serious and important questions on this subject, which deserve to be answered. I have taken no small pains to make myself acquainted with the subject, which Mr. Reynolds has, perhaps indiscreetly, made so prominent a topic—and, perhaps a little too triumphantly in his tone, has provoked a reply to.

"Perhaps (says Mr. Reynolds) Mr. Taylor could furnish me with the records from which he discovered that my father was distressed for want of money." He may, perhaps, consider Mr. Moore's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" as a record, or Mr. Moore himself as

a historian of small value; but as I shall notice his work in another place, I shall confine myself for the present to Mr. Taylor. "From what source," he asks, "did Mr. Taylor discover that my father had been an active member of the Union; and, above all, from what record did he receive the foul slander that he had sold the secret to government? Could not the same record have supplied him with the price also; and if so, why did he not name it? From what records did he learn that my father had insured to himself by his conduct even the slightest reward? The whole accusation is false as it is malicious."

Either Mr. Reynolds believes that his questions are unanswerable, or that those who could answer them are not willing to do so. Time, however, has unravelled greater mysteries than those connected with the name and exploits of Mr. Reynolds. Documents, whose authenticity cannot be called in question, are in existence, and furnish irrefragable proof of Mr. T. Reynolds having received for his disclosures, within a term of six months from the 29th of September, 1798, not £500 only, but the sum of £5,000, in four payments, at the following dates and in the following amounts:—

1798, Sept. 29,	Mr. T. Reynolds	received	£1,000
" Nov. 16,	Ditto	ditto	2,000
1799, Jan. 19,	Ditto	ditto	1,000
" March 4,	Ditto	ditto	1,000

"—to complete £5,000." And moreover, on the 14th of June, 1799, Mr. Reynolds received his annuity of £1,000, "in full to the 25th of March, 1799"; from which period till his death, the 18th of August, 1836, his pension continued to be paid to him.

The amount of that pension was £1,000 Irish, or £920 British: he received it for a term of thirty-seven years.

The gross amount for the above period, at £920 per annum, is	£34,040
Gratuity before the trials of Bond, M'-Can, and Byrne	500
Gratuities between September, 1798, and March 4, 1799	5,000
Post office agency at Lisbon, salary and emoluments, four years, at £1,400 per annum	5,600
Consulship at Iceland, two years, at £300 per annum	600
	£45,740

In 1810 he was appointed to the post office agency at Lisbon, where he remained nearly four years, the salary and emoluments of which office averaged £1,400 per annum.

In 1817 he was appointed to the consulate at Iceland, where he remained about one year, on a salary of £300 per annum. He returned to England, and in 1819 went back to Copenhagen, where he continued a few months, and then, on leave of absence, repaired to France, leaving his son to act in his stead as vice-consul, in which office he continued till 1822. Another son obtained a lucrative appointment under the stamp office department at Hull.

This enormous sum of £45,740, the "disinterested friend of his country" received; and as the pension on

the Irish civil list reverted to his widow and to his two sons, who, at the time of his death, were in the prime of life, it was by no means improbable that one of the parties might survive the person to whom it was originally granted some five-and-twenty or thirty years; and if so, the people of Great Britain would have the further gratification of paying another sum of twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds more for the credit of Lord Castlereagh's government in Ireland (nominally of Lord Camden's), and as a tribute of respect to the memory and worth of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. There are gentlemen in the British parliament, though not forgetful of the services of Mr. Reynolds and others of his class, who might think this subject deserving of their attention, who might imagine that the children of the starving operatives of Leeds and Manchester are entitled to as much consideration as those of the gentlemen who made orphans of so many, and who during their lives were amply rewarded for any service they rendered to their employers.[1]

[1] Providence has been pleased, since the appearance of the first edition of this work, in 1842, to remove the widow of Mr. Thomas Reynolds and his two sons from this sinful world. The eldest son's death is thus noticed in the "Hull Herald" of the 24th of July, 1856: "Melton.—Yesterday, in his 62nd year, A. F. Reynolds, Esq., barrister-at-law, and distributor of stamps for Hull and East-Riding." The other son of Mr. Reynolds was connected with a proselytizing establishment in Paris, originally founded by Lord Roden, and supported by voluntary subscriptions of English visitants to the French capital. Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who, like his brother, had been brought up in the religion he adopted after his civil conversion from disaffection to loyalty, became a lay apostle of the New Jerusalem Society of Marbœuf, a collector of funds, and a visitor of all English tourists on their arrival in Paris. Mr. Reynolds, junr., however, fell into diffi-

The interference of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, with regard to the lease of Kilkea Castle, in favour of Reynolds, is called, with the usual modesty of his biographer, "a piece of pure invention from beginning to end." "Early in 1797 (this gentleman states) his father took from the Duke of Leinster the valuable lease of the castle and lands of Kilkea"; that "he became a United Irishman in February, 1797; that in November, 1797, Lord Edward called on his father, and asked him to take his place as colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, enrolled in the county of Kildare, for a short time." These dates are rather unfortunate for the arduous task of whitewashing the character of Mr. Reynolds's friendship, considering the very advantageous terms on which the lease was granted to him, and the confidential communications between Lord Edward and Mr. Reynolds, admitted by the latter, in November, 1797, the very month of his obtaining the lease from the Duke of Leinster.

In the informations given upon oath by Thomas Reynolds, and afterwards confirmed before the secret committees in 1798, his intimacy with Lord Edward is thus alluded to:—"Deponent further saith, that in November, 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by Hugh Wilson, met deponent upon the steps of the Four Courts, and told him that he wished to speak to him upon very particular business; that deponent informed Lord Edward Fitzgerald he would be found in Park Street if he called on him there; that deponent and Lord

culties, removed from Paris, and ended his career about two years ago. His aged mother, the widow of the informer, had died a short time previously. So all the parties entitled to receive the reversionary pension of Tom Reynolds have passed away.

Edward knew each other only personally, and that only from a purchase deponent had been about in the county of Kildare from the Duke of Leinster." [1]

Here Reynolds himself acknowledges, what is positively denied by his son, that in the business relating to the purchase from the Duke of Leinster, Mr. Reynolds had a personal knowledge of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

It would appear from young Mr. Reynolds's work, that his father had a sincere regard for Lord Edward Fitzgerald. It is very probable that he had as much regard for his lordship as it was in his nature to feel for any man—that is to say, he had no personal animosity to this young nobleman, and after the arrests at Bond's, perhaps, had nothing to gain (when he knew the secret of his place of concealment) by betraying him; for the reward of £1000 for his apprehension was not published till the 11th of May, and Reynolds was not then in town. But when it was part of the duty required of him by his employers to deprive the widow and children of his dead friend of the means of subsistence, he was restrained by no compunctious visitings of nature from swearing away the property of that friend, as he had sworn away the lives of his associates.

There are three proofs given by Mr. Reynolds, junior, of the friendship of his father for Lord Edward. Two days after the arrests at Bond's, on his information—(Lord Edward having so far fortunately escaped that peril by the accidental circumstance of seeing Major Swan's party enter the house, when he, Lord Edward, was on his way there, at the corner of Bridge Street)—Reynolds visited Lord Edward at his place of

[1] "Report of Secret Committee, 1798"; Appendix, xvi., p. 132.

concealment, at Dr. Kennedy's in Aungier Street, and discussed with his lordship his future plans as to his concealment, etc. Mr. Reynolds discovered "he had no arms of any sort except a small dagger, and he was quite unprovided with cash, which was then scarce, as the banks had stopped all issue of gold. My father called on him again on the evening of the 15th, and brought him fifty guineas in gold, and a case of good mounted pistols, with ammunition, and a mould for casting bullets." [1] "He took the pistols, threw a cloak over his shoulders, and left the house accompanied by Mr. Lawless. My father never saw him more." Poor Lord Edward little imagined from what source that money had been derived, or that he and his companions had been betrayed by the very man who had been so recently in his company, and who had already drawn on the agent of government for the first portion of that stipulated sum which was the reward of his disclosures, and had placed a part of the price of his friends' blood in his hands, under the semblance of an act of kindness.

The present of the pistols, with the powder and bullet mould, for the protection of a man, whose peril, he well knew, was the consequence of his own treachery to him and his associates, was worthy of Reynolds; villainy less accomplished could hardly have devised so refined an act of specious perfidy. It was a particular feature of Reynolds's infamy, that he seems to have felt a gratification in witnessing the effects of his proceedings on the unfortunate families of his victims. A few days after the arrests at Bond's, he paid a visit of condolence to Mrs. Bond, and even caressed the child she was holding

[1] "Life of Thomas Reynolds," vol. ii., p. 219.

in her arms. He paid a similar visit of simulated friendship to the wife of Lord Edward Fitzgerald on the 16th of March. Mr. Reynolds's son must tell the particulars of this interview. "She (Lady Fitzgerald) also complained of a want of gold; my father told her he had given Lord Edward fifty guineas the preceding night, and would send her fifty more in the course of that day, which promise he performed. Neither of these sums were ever repaid. In the course of their conversation, my father mentioned his intention of leaving Ireland for a time; on which she took a ring from her finger and gave it to him, saying she hoped to hear from him if he should have anything of importance to communicate, and that she would not attend to any letter purporting to come from him, unless it were sealed with that ring, which was a small red cornelian, engraved with the figure of a dancing satyr."

Mr. Reynolds having deprived himself of his pistols on the 15th of March, the act was considered by him, and at a later period, it would seem, was recognized by government, as one done for the public service, for these pistols were replaced by Major Sirr, and the bill for the case purchased on that occasion by the major for his friend was duly presented to Mr. Cooke, and the subsequent payment of it was not forgotten.

"1798, July, 26, Major Sirr, for
pistols for Mr. Reynolds . . £9 2 0."

So much for the friendship's offerings of Mr. Thomas Reynolds.

The insatiable cupidity of this man at length disgusted the administration in both countries, and when his importunities were disregarded, in the pathetic lan-

guage of his son, having settled his accounts, "he bade an eternal adieu to his kindred and country, and arrived with his family in London, on the 1st of January, 1800." This melancholy circumstance for the meditation of "his kindred and country" is certainly narrated in very moving terms, but the nature of his faithful attachment to both could hardly be spoken of in plain and simple terms. "During two years," continues his son, "he did not cease to urge on the English ministers the promises made to him on leaving Ireland, but to no purpose; he received much politeness, but the English ministers referred him to the Irish, these again referred him to those in England, until at length, disgusted with both, he dropped the pursuit and applied himself exclusively to the care of his family." [1]

In 1817 the people of England, who had given themselves very little concern about Mr. Reynolds's doings in Ireland, so long as they were confined to that country, took the alarm rather suddenly, when they found the subject of treason in England, and the system of packing the juries for the trial of traitors, connected with the ominous name of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. On bills being found by the grand jury of Middlesex against Dr. Watson and four others, for high treason (the Spa-fields rioters), no sooner was Mr. Reynolds's name discovered on the panel, than the press of England took the alarm, and the walls of parliament rang with loud denunciations against the Irish informer.

Lord Castlereagh plainly saw the folly of the attempt to resort in England to the old practices which had been adopted with so little trouble in the sister kingdom.

[1] "Life of Thomas Reynolds," by his Son, vol. ii., p. 193.

He left Mr. Reynolds to his fate; and when he threatened to publish a vindication of his acts, it was plainly intimated to him that it was the pleasure of Lord Castlereagh that he should be silent on these subjects. At length the coolest sarcasm on the troublesomeness of an importunate candidate for public employment that could be indulged in, was had recourse to by Lord Castlereagh in 1818, when he sent that ardent patriot, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, as a consul, to freeze in Iceland. In October, 1818, Reynolds, having sickened of his Iceland consulship, abandoned his post and returned to London. On his arrival, Mr. Planta communicated to him "his lordship's extreme surprise and marked displeasure, at his having quitted his public duties for his private affairs, without his lordship's previous sanction." [1]

On the 6th of December he had an interview with Mr. Cooke on the subject of his quitting his post: and in reference to a letter of Reynolds to Lord Camden on this matter, his son tells us he said to him: "You are a madman; you are an imprudent man: I tell you so to your face; and you were always an imprudent man, and never will be otherwise. I tell you, you are considered as a passionate, imprudent man." "Mr. Cooke," said my father, "if I was not so, perhaps Ireland would not at this day be a part of the British empire: you did not think me passionate or imprudent in 1798." "I tell you again," said Mr. Cooke, "you are mad. Well, what do you intend to do now?" "Really," said my father, "I intend to do nothing at all; I suppose Lord Castlereagh, on his return, will settle my resignation." [2]

[1] "Thomas Reynolds's Life," by his Son, vol. ii, p. 429.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 443.

Mr. Reynolds went on to state that he had taken the office "on the express condition of living where he pleased; and his affairs being urgent, *and Lord Castlereagh being absent*, he returned, as a matter of course." "True," continued Mr. Cooke; "but Lord Castlereagh knows you to be a very imprudent man, and he would certainly hesitate at allowing you to be in London, where your imprudence would give advantage to your enemies, *to bring you into trouble, and him too.* He does not like you to be in London: I tell you fairly, *that is the feeling.*" [3]

Mr. Reynolds took his leave, after informing Mr. Cooke that "in case he continued to hold this consulship, he expected to be treated with attention and consideration by the British ambassadors wherever he settled, and that he still held government bound to provide for his two sons." "I tell you again," said Mr. Cooke, "I'll see them on it."

This must have been a scene that Gay would have delighted to have witnessed and to have depicted, for no other hand could have done justice to the little differences of these Peachums and Lockets of the golden days of the good old times of Camden and Company in Ireland.

In 1822, the star had set on the prosperity of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. Mr. Canning had come into power, and had been applied to by him for employment. Young Mr. Reynolds states that Mr. Planta communicated to his father Mr. Canning's final determination, not to employ any member of our family in his depart-

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 445.

ment, as he did not consider himself bound by Lord Londonderry's engagements." [4]

Mr. Reynolds deemed the time was come to retire from the turmoil of public life: he fixed his abode in Paris, rolled about in his green chariot, gormandized and guzzled, edified the godly, who have their little Goshen in Paris separated from the surrounding heathenism of Romanism, by the fervour of his zeal for his new religion, and died in that city the 18th of August, 1836. His remains were brought to England, and were buried in one of the vaults of the village church of Wilton, in Yorkshire. Having spoken much of this man's character, and by no means favourably of it, I freely admit that he did the state some service, and that he was possessed of some qualities, which, had they been under the guidance of sound principles, would have rendered him a man who might be spoken of without repugnance: his courage was indomitable; his presence of mind was remarkable; he was cool and collected on occasions that eminently required calmness and deliberation. His own immediate family appear to have been attached to him; and in his last days it is said, and I presume not to call in question the truth of such statement, that his thoughts were turned to futurity, and his deportment at the close of his career, that of a man who had a lively sense of religion: that nothing, in short, in life became him so much as the manner of his leaving it.

The Parisian life of Mr. Reynolds was made the subject of some very remarkable lines, the original manuscript of which fell into my hands in Paris some years

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 497.

ago. The concluding lines of this singularly terse and vigorous production are unfortunately wanting, but enough remains for an instalment of the debt of Irish justice due to the memory of Thomas Reynolds. The paper on which these lines were written, a half-sheet of foolscap, had been wrapped round some butter, purchased in a grocery shop in Paris by the wife of my cousin, Mr. Edward Byrne, an old resident of Paris (of No. 23 Place Vendome), and was given me by the latter.

"THE SPY INFORMER," TOM REYNOLDS.

Lolling at his vile ease in chariot gay,
His face, nay, even his fearful name unhidden!
Uncloaked abroad, 'neath all the eyes of day,
Which, as he passeth, close, while breath is hush'd,—
Unspat upon, untrampled down, uncrush'd,
I've seen the seven-fold traitor!—wretch, curse-ridden
By a whole nation's curse, and a world's scorn
Heap'd upon that!
And, God! he hath upborne,
For more than thirty years, on the broad back
Of his strong, scoundrel mind, without crack
Or cringe, the Atlas burden!
Look! 'tis he,
Who for the pence which pay his luxury,
Sold all!—friends, honour, country, country's cause,
And that cause freedom!—freedom against laws
Of odious, wanton tyranny! Who sold
Unto the gallows, scourge, or dungeon-hold,
The wise, the noble, high-hearted, bold,
And with them humbler thousands ten times told!
And this of his own choice! not even led
By the detested craven's shivering dread.
No; this of his own free, cool, weighing choice.
His ear still ringing to the trumpet voice
Of Freedom's champions on her council day,
Stealingly, serpently, he slimed his way

Unto the slave-master, and back again
To Freedom's fearless, unsuspecting men;
Till, drop by drop, he marketed away,
At cautious pricing; for "no blood no pay"—
The veins that o'er their gallant hearts had sway,
With all which through a nation's bosom play!
Yea, till from lordly mansion to the cot
Of the unfed peasant, reigned one common lot
Of torture, and of carnage, and of woe!
Yea, till the household blood so fast did flow,
That, help'd by women's and by children's tears,
The household hearth it slaked down for years!
Again look at him! To God's house to-day
(For he dares kneel, and he pretends to pray!)
Now hath he come. O'erfed, on bloated limbs,
Scarce from his chariot steps can he descend;
Though nought—nor age, remorse, nor shame—yet dims
That cool, hyena eye which round him lowered,
Hopeless of fellow glance from fellow friend,
And yet so quiet, cruel to the end,
Might almost chill a brave man into coward.
Say I that in God's house he should not kneel,
And pray, and be forgiven, if he feel
That scarlet red as are his sin and woe,
True sorrow may not "wash them white as snow"?
I've said, I thought it not; but this I say,
That even his master, Judas, flung away
The price of blood, etc. * * *

Cætera desunt.

Reference to the man above described, in the first edition of this work, and to his name and exploits, in "the account of Secret Service Money, applied in Detecting Treasonable Conspiracies," procured for the author the honour of the following complimentary notice of his labours, from the son and biographer of the "Tom Reynolds of 1798":—

LETTER FROM MR. THOMAS REYNOLDS.

"Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris,
"July 16, 1842.

"Sir—My attention has been called to a work lately published by you, in which, not satisfied with repeating the thrice-told and often-refuted calumnies against the character of my late father, you also make a direct attack upon me, at page 215 of your first volume. It is that attack which induces me to address you. I see that, like all your party, you stop at nothing: falsehood or truth appears indifferent to you. As regards your extract from the Secret Service Money, it is an evident and a very stupid forgery; but even if it were not so, it is for you to show, first, that it is authentic, and next, that the Thomas Reynolds therein mentioned was my father; but I have no doubt you could show anything, when you tell your readers that F. H. means John Hughes. I shall, however, soon demonstrate to the public that there happens to be a physical impossibility in its having been my father, and that, probably, the whole story is a mere invention of your own, if, indeed, you have not imported it from that land of veracity to which the newspaper puffs tell us you wandered thrice in search of your documents. I know not what your *Travels in the East* may have produced; but, I assure you, you might have spared your journey to the west, where, I suppose, you also discovered that my father had been consul at Lisbon for four years, at £1,400 a-year; whereas, if you had only wandered to the *west end* of the town, and examined any "Red Book," from 1810 to 1814, you would have found that he was agent for the packets at Lisbon, with a salary of £200

William Sampson

From an Engraving by T. H. Lynch after a Drawing by Mrs. Tone

a-year. But a falsehood more or less to you and your party does not signify, if you can only attain your object, from which, thank Heaven, you are as remote as heretofore. The public will see from this how much reliance can be placed on your authentic documents, as you call them, at page 240.

"Believe me, sir, your malice is all in vain; the man whom you seek to assail, will meet you, ere many years are passed, at the bar of Him who judges righteously. There the secrets of his heart and of yours must be revealed; you cannot injure him now, he is beyond your malice; but, like a fiend, as is shown clearly in page 242, you would, if you could, injure me; but I must have lived very much in vain, if the dull falsehoods of yourself or your accomplices could injure me in the estimation of the numerous persons to whom I am so fortunate as to be known.

"I shall reserve other remarks till I publish them, with many matters and names which I could have wished to leave buried in oblivion.

"I am, sir,

"Your humble servant,

"Thomas Reynolds.

"To Dr. Madden, London."

Mr. Reynolds, the son of Bond's Reynolds, of Bryne's Reynolds, of M'Cann's Reynolds, is angry that he has been detected falsifying facts and figures, in his efforts to pass off perfidy for patriotism, and the lust of gold for the love of a gracious sovereign; in short it offends him that his endeavours have been foiled by me, to immortalize his father's disinterestedness in betraying his bosom friends, swearing away their lives,

making widows of their wives and orphans of their children.

Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds would come before the public as an injured man, hurt in his filial character, when he was bending beneath the load of a father's memory. The burden he bore was greater, I admit, than the "pious Æneas" carried on his shoulders from the flames of Troy; the undertaking was more arduous. He would have the sympathy of the public bestowed on him; but in his efforts to obtain it, it is clear he has stopped at no trifles in the prosecution of his bold enterprise. The very boldness of that attempt, however, it is obvious, must have forced the duty on some person of examining his statements, and having the means of detecting their errors, they were disclosed by me.

Amongst the grossest of them, there was one which had been refuted by me very fully, namely, the *mistake* respecting the amount of blood-money which had been received by his father. Young Mr. Reynolds had stated that his father had only received £500 for his services to government in 1798; whereas it was clearly proved, by the publication of the Secret Service Money in the first series of my work, that he had received £5,000, in four payments, between the 29th of September, 1798, and the 4th of March, 1799, duly set down, in black and white, in the handwriting of Mr. Secretary Cooke. Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds did not dream of that record seeing the light of day when he gave to the world his bold book.

There are but two assertions in his letter which it may be pardonable in me to notice seriously.

In reference to the person whose initials appear in

the list of receivers of Secret Service Money, prefixed to the amount "£1,000 for the discovery of Lord E. F.," Mr. Reynolds says: "There happens to be a physical impossibility in its having been my father." Now Mr. Reynolds knows perfectly well that I never said, nor gave it to be understood, I thought that his father was that traitor whose initials are given in the official document which he deems "a mere invention of my own." I stated, on the contrary, from many concurring circumstances, and from the fact of the first letter of those initials being so indistinctly written *in the original document from which I copied it*, that it was difficult to distinguish whether the letter was a J or an F, although bearing more semblance to the latter, that Mr. John Hughes might possibly be the person referred to under those initials, and I adduced some reasons that seemed to me to support that opinion. So that Mr. Reynolds has conjured up a calumny of his own imagining, for the purpose of making its demolition tell in favour of his other efforts to refute facts, which he had found it difficult to deal with.

The next assertion I have to notice is, that I had represented his father's salary, at Lisbon, to have been £1,400, whereas it was £200.

In this short statement there is a falsehood and a quibble. In my work I estimated the receipts of his office "for four years, at £1,400 per annum, £5,600." The words that follow admit of no mistake: "The salary and *emoluments* of which office averaged £1,400 per annum." *First Series*, vol. i., p. 241.

Since the receipt of Mr. Reynolds's letter I have verified, on the spot (in Lisbon), the fact stated by me

with respect to the amount of his salary and emoluments, which I now re-assert. Mr. Reynolds, however, would fain have it believed that £200 a-year, the bare amount of his father's salary, was all that he derived from his office.

That office was miscalled by me; instead of Consular Office, it should have been termed Packet and Post Office Agency. That is the sole misstatement I have to correct in my notice of the labours of either of the Reynoldses.

Immediately on the receipt of the younger Reynolds's epistle I had written a reply to it which I was only prevented transmitting, by considerations that were urged on me by one of the most distinguished of living Irishmen, the late Mr. O'Connell.

In that letter which I had written to Mr. Reynolds, it was my object to convince my correspondent that he had done too much credit to my ingenuity; doubting, as I did, that it was within the compass of the malice of any individual to do an additional injury to his father's memory; that the insinuation, moreover, of the existence of *another Tom Reynolds*, whose name had been mistaken for his father's, in the list of recipients of secret service money, was a foul calumny on human nature, for whose honour it was to be hoped, that two men of his father's stamp could not be produced in the same century; and lastly, that the meeting with his parent, with which he menaced me, in the other world, was a thing too fearful to contemplate without a shudder, or to threaten without feelings of malevolence which it ill became a gentleman of his professed piety to entertain.

The late Dr. Samuel O'Sullivan was indiscreet enough, in his zeal for Orangeism and the terrorism of 1798, to endeavour to tarnish the renown of a distinguished Irishman in the French service, to cause him to be suspected of treachery in 1798, similar to that of the most infamous informers of those times. He placed General Corbett in the same category with Reynolds.

Is the disposition of a miscreant of the stamp of Reynolds or O'Brien of that nature which seeks military glory for its own sake, gains it in many well-fought fields, and is ever found ambitious of activity, and eager

"To turn e'en danger to delight"?

Those who think so are evidently unacquainted with the habits of retired traitors—of men who sell their associates for a ready money price, or a place, or a pension. They do not court danger in the field, nor "seek the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth." Military achievements are not to their taste; they fear death, and they have good reason to be afraid of it; they love their ease, and they take it after their own fashion; they pamper their appetites, they live grossly, they are given to gluttony, or debauchery, or avarice; they have sacrificed their sworn friends, their former principles, their future hopes, for gold; and all that gold can give for the gratification of their passions, they get. When they die, there are none to mourn for them. Their names recall acts that all good men hate. Their epitaphs are written in red characters. For inscriptions of this sort, let the following serve for a model:—

"In this desecrated ground lies the body of
THOMAS REYNOLDS.
The claims of his memory on his country are to be
counted by his oaths;
His services to be estimated
by the consequences of his perfidy,
The banishments and executions of his bosom friends;
The merits of his loyalty
"Are to be measured by the coffins of his victims."
He bargained with a menial of the British government,
and sold his cause and associates for money;
A dealer and chapman in broken vows,
He huckstered and higgled with men in authority
for the price of blood;
Of the wives and children of those with
whom he lived in amity, he made Widows and Orphans,
without compunction or remorse;
The number of the lives and the patrimonies he
had sworn away, seemed to him so many titles to
distinction, and proofs of heroic virtue;
The obligations he owed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald,
were never forgotten nor forgiven by him.
Having betrayed all his friends, forsaken his country,
possessing nothing more, except his creed, to
barter, change, or to desert,
He abandoned his religion, and, in the decline of life,
assumed a sanctimonious demeanour,
And was said to "have put off the old man."

He retained, however, to the last, the wages of the
iniquity of his early life, the pension for which he
caused the blood of so many of his friends to
be shed in 1798;
And this produce of perfidy enabled him
to pamper his appetites, and live and die in luxury in
a foreign land.
He renounced none of his enjoyments.
The stolid, sense-cloyed, soul-clogged epicurean, in his
latter years was still to be seen lolling in his chariot
at his ease, parading his unwieldy person in
all public places.
Far from wincing under the gaze of public scorn, he met
it with all the brazen effrontery of his
insolent regard,
And bore "the Atlas burden" of contempt
"on the broad back of his strong scoundrel mind,"
as if he courted contumely, or considered
his acts of villainy services of state,
on which the eyes of Europe were fixed with admiration.
Thus lived, and at last, as he had lived, died,
The remorseless renegado, Thomas Reynolds.

Proditor! Delator! et Sicarius Infamis!
Perfidus! Gulosus! Avarus!
Avidissimus auri.

JOHN WARNEFORD ARMSTRONG.

The gentleman commonly known as Sheares Armstrong, commenced his public career in 1798 as an informer against two barristers of the name of Sheares. whose hospitality he partook of on a memorable occasion at the house of the elder brother, when the aged mother, the fond wife, the brother and the sister and the children of the host were present, in the house where that host and his brother were destined to be no more, within a few brief hours of that visit to it of Captain John Warneford Armstrong.

On the 12th of July, 1798, Henry and John Sheares, barristers-at-law, were tried and convicted on a charge of high treason, on the evidence of Captain John W. Armstrong, an officer of the Kign's County Militia, and on that evidence were hanged the 14th of July, 1798. In the memoir of the Sheares ample details of this trial will be found. Here it is only necessary to give a single episode in the tragedy of the two brothers, and the performance of a gentleman and a military officer bearing the king's commission in a very base part in it, thrust upon him, by his own account to me, by Lord Castlereagh. On Thursday, the 10th of May, 1798, Armstrong was introduced to Henry and John Sheares at Byrne's the bookseller's, in Grafton Street, with the purpose (the result of a settled plan between him, Lord Castlereagh, his colonel, and a brother officer of the name of Clibborn) of betraying their secrets to government. He was introduced to them, he said, by Byrne, as "a true brother, and they might depend upon him."

At that meeting sufficient treason was propounded by the unfortunate dupes of Armstrong for the purpose of the captain and his employers. On the Sunday following, the 13th of May, by appointment, Captain Armstrong went to the house of Henry Sheares in Baggot Street. "He did not remember the number, but it was on the right hand going out of town; his (Henry Sheares) name was on the door."

On that Sunday evening Captain Armstrong was again at the house of Henry Sheares.

On Wednesday, the 16th of May, between five and six o'clock in the evening, the gallant captain was again at the house of Henry Sheares, and closetted with the younger of his deluded victims, John, in the library of his brother. On Thursday, the 17th, the indefatigable captain was again at Henry Sheares' house, Baggot Street, and communicated with both brothers, and also Surgeon Lawless—subsequently General Lawless—a relative of Lord Cloncurry. In the evening of the same Thursday, the 17th of May, Captain Armstrong was again dogging the two doomed brothers at the house of Henry Sheares. *On Sunday, the 20th of May,* Captain Armstrong was again at the house of Henry Sheares, in Baggot Street, in communication with both brothers. John Sheares at that meeting said, "he had called that day at Lawless's (French Street), and he believed Lawless had absconded, for he, Lawless, had been denied to him." On that Sunday, the 20th of May, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, by the instructions, as he states, of Lord Castlereagh, dined with the Sheares at the house of Henry; sat with his two victims in social intercourse, in the company of

their old mother and their sister, and the wife and daughter of Henry Sheares; ate their bread and drank their wine; was hospitably entertained by them, and kindly received by the females of that family; and at the very time he was their guest, on that occasion he, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, knew that his host and his brother were to be arrested the day following on the charge of treason that was grounded on his evidence. On Monday, the 21st May, the two Sheares were arrested, and were lodged in Newgate. The day previously they had been dispensing hospitality to their betrayer.

On the day they were sentenced to be hanged, namely, on the 12th of July, Captain J. W. Armstrong, on his oath, made a statement respecting Lord Castlereagh's participation in the baseness of that Sunday business in the house of Henry Sheares. Counsel for the crown asked the witness, J. W. Armstrong, "Did you communicate the last conversation (that with the Sheares on Sunday, the 20th of May) to anybody?" Answered —"I never had an interview with the Sheares that I had not one with Colonel L'Estrange and Captain Clibborn and my Lord Castlereagh."

Captain John Warneford Armstrong, now in the eighty-sixth year of his age, is a hale old man, in the full enjoyment of his faculties, and his honours, and his rewards—a justice of the peace and a grand juror —a man of substance, having a stake in the soil, and a calm serenity of mind that nothing but the loss of a valuable testimonial to his services in 1798 has ever been known to have perturbed.

CORRESPONDENCE AND DETAILS OF PERSONAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CAPTAIN JOHN WARNEFORD ARMSTRONG AND R. R. MADDEN, RESPECTING SOME PASSAGES IN THE WORK OF THE LATTER, IN REFERENCE TO THE EVIDENCE GIVEN ON THE TRIAL OF HENRY AND JOHN SHEARES BY CAPTAIN ARMSTRONG.

No. 1.

Captain Armstrong to R. R. Madden.

"Ballycumber, Clara, Ireland,
"August 15, 1843.

"SIR,—I have lately read your well written, entertaining, and interesting 'History of the United Irishmen.' You have made some mistakes, which, if I had an opportunity of seeing you, I could point out. If you ever come to Ireland, and will let me know, I will go to Dublin for the purpose.

"Your most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) "J. W. ARMSTRONG.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D."

No. 2.

R. R. Madden to Captain Armstrong.

"6 Salisbury Street, Strand, London.
"September, 1843.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated 15th August, and to inform you that it only reached me on Saturday last, on my arrival in this city from the continent.

"My absence from London was the cause of its remaining so long unanswered.

"I conclude I am addressing the Captain J. Warneford Armstrong, whose name is connected with the his-

tory of some of those ill-fated gentlemen whose lives I have attempted to illustrate. In the performance of my task, it is probable I have fallen into some mistakes, nay, it would have been impossible to have totally avoided error in the treatment of the subject which makes it necessary to recur to records, too frequently found not so much of facts, as of the conflicting impressions of them, and to the reminiscences of men whose faculties have to be carried back to events which happened five-and-forty years ago.

"You are pleased to say if I ever come to Ireland you will come up to Dublin for the purpose of pointing out those errors to me. The freedom with which I have treated of those matters in which your name has been mixed up, makes it imperative on me to accept the proffered information, in order that, if I have in any degree done injustice to you, I may, to the fullest extent, and by the first opportunity afforded me, make reparation for it. But permit me at the same time to say, that, with the information I am at present in possession of, and with the feelings I now entertain on those points to which I have referred in connection with your name, I have nothing to unsay or wish unsaid, except in one passage respecting a Captain Armstrong who visited Lady Louisa Connolly shortly after the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald: there is an ambiguity in that passage which it was my intention to clear up in a second edition of my work.

"I had no idea of going to Ireland just now, but I think it is a duty I owe to truth to avail myself of any information which may enable me to do justice, not only to the dead, but to the living also, in whatever relation

the latter may stand to the memory of the former. I will, God willing, be in Dublin on Wednesday or Thursday next, and on my arrival will inform you of my address there.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(*Signed*) "R. R. MADDEN.

"To Capt. J. W. Armstrong,
"Ballycumber, Clara, Ireland."

No. 3.

R. R. Madden to Captain Armstrong.

"15 Rathmines, Dublin,
"28th Sept., 1843.

"SIR,—I beg leave to apprise you of my arrival in Dublin. Should it suit your convenience to meet me on Monday next, the 2nd of October, at No. 15 Rathmines, between the hours of one and two in the afternoon, I shall be in readiness to communicate with you respecting those errors in my recent work which you inform me I have fallen into.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"R. R. MADDEN.

"To Capt. J. W. Armstrong,
"etc., etc., etc."

No. 4.

Captain Armstrong to R. R. Madden.

"Ballycumber, Clara,
"October 2, 1843.

"SIR,—I have received both your letters: the first arrived here when I was in Dublin, the second came also when I was absent attending the show of an agricultural society, and I did not return until it was too late to write.

"I am obliged to be in Dublin on the 24th instant, and if you stay so long in Dublin, I would call upon you on the 25th; however, if it should not be convenient for you to do so, I will go up on the receipt of your letter.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) "J. W. Armstrong.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq.,
15 Rathmines, Dublin."

No. 5.

Captain Armstrong to R. R. Madden.

"Ballycumber, Clara,
"October 4, 1843.

Sir,—I have this moment received your letter, and shall go to Dublin to-morrow morning, and shall call upon you on Friday; you must perceive that it is impossible to be there sooner.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(*Signed*) "J. W. Armstrong.

"To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D.,
"15 Rathmines, Dublin."

Minutes of an interview of R. R. Madden with Captain J. W. Armstrong, the 6th Oct., 1843, at No. 15 Rathmines, Dublin:—

"October 6, 1843.

"Captain John Warneford Armstrong having applied to me by letter for an interview, with reference to some alleged errors in the first series of my work, 'The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen,' I met

him by appointment at No. 15 Rathmines, Dublin, Counsellor O'H——, at my request, being present.

"The following notes of the leading topics of Captain Armstrong's communication, were taken by me on the spot, during the conversation in question:—

"At page 65, vol. ii., Captain Armstrong referred to a citation, in my work, from Mr. Moore's 'Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald,' respecting the visit of a Captain Armstrong to Lady Sarah Napier, after the arrests at Bond's, and also to an observation of mine in regard to that visit. Captain Armstrong states that 'he never visited Lady Sarah Napier at any period, and that he was not acquainted even with her name.' I replied to Captain Armstrong that, subsequently to the publication of the first series of my work, I had received a communication from a relative of Lady Sarah Naper (Major-General William Napier), which left no doubt on my mind that the Captain Armstrong referred to on that occasion was a gentleman somewhat acquainted with the Leinster family, whose intentions could not be called in question, and that he, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, was not the person referred to in the above-mentioned passage, and that, as I had informed him in my reply to his first communication, it was my intention to give the information I had received on that point, in the second edition of my work.

"At page 88, vol. ii., first series, Captain Armstrong says, in reference to his first interview with the Sheares, that 'it was not sought by him, it was not sought by the government, it was in fact unknown to them, nor was it sought by the Sheares. It was sought by Byrne, the bookseller, whose shop he frequented. Byrne believed

his sentiments to be similar to his own; he said one day to some person in the shop, pointing to the uniform, which he (Captain Armstrong) wore: 'This man wears a uniform, and he is a croppy for all that.' Captain Armstrong believes the wish for the introduction to the Sheares originated with Byrne. Captain Armstrong states that the assertion in Mr. Curran's work, and repeated in mine, that on the occasion of dining with the Sheares, he had fondled or caressed the children of Henry Sheares, was utterly unfounded; he had never done so, nor had Mrs. Sheares played on the harp for him; he never recollected having seen the children at all, but there was a young lady of about fifteen there, whom he met at dinner. *The day he dined there (and he dined there only once), he was urged by Lord Castlereagh to do so. It was wrong to do so, and he, Captain Armstrong, was sorry for it; but he was persuaded by Lord Castlereagh to go there to dine, for the purpose of getting further information.*

"In reference to an observation of mine, on his anxiety to join his regiment after having given information about the Sheares, Captain Armstrong said, 'When he acquainted Lord Castlereagh with his desire to join his regiment, which has just gone into the county Kildare against the rebels, Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to dissuade him, not, perhaps, from any anxiety for his personal safety on his own account, but on account of the necessity for his appearance at the approaching trial of the Sheares. His, Captain Armstrong's, reason for wishing to join his regiment was, to prevent giving people a pretext for imputing his absence, at such a period, to cowardice.'

"At page 175, vol. ii., first series, in reference to the evidence of Mr. Drought, respecting Captain Armstrong's account of the circumstances which took place at Blackmore Hill with pikes and green cockades, when one was hanged, another was shot, and the third was flogged, Captain Armstrong stated: 'Drought's evidence was false; it is true, on that occasion one man was shot, one man was hanged, and the other was whipped; but this was not done by his orders, it was done by the orders of some other person.' The commanding officer was Sir James Duff, but he does not say it was done by his orders. *I asked* was there a court-martial held on the occasion. Captain Armstrong replied there was no court-martial. It was quite sufficient that they were found with pikes and green cockades. *I asked* was he, Captain Armstrong, quite certain that all the men had pikes and green cockades. *He* replied he did not know for a certainty, but believes, and is pretty sure they all had. There was an engagement the same day, after this event, on Blackmore Hill with the rebels.

"At page 177, vol. ii., first series, in reference to the evidence of Mr. Robert Bride, on the trial of the Sheares, respecting some expressions of his as to oaths being words, and words being as wind, or some such terms, which having been used about that time in a pamphlet written by ——, he, Captain Armstrong, might have repeated, but protested that the inference drawn by Mr. Bride from these careless words, about the obligation of an oath, was erroneous, and that he never doubted the solemn obligation of an oath.

"At page 179, vol. ii., first series, Captain Armstrong

referred to a statement in my work, respecting the name of Clibborn, which occurs in the account of secret service money, being supposed by me to have been the Captain Clibborn by whose advice he had given the interview to the Sheares. Captain Armstrong stated that this sum of money mentioned in that document was given to Mr. George Clibborn, a very active magistrate in the county Westmeath, the father of his friend Captain John Clibborn, and not, as I had supposed, to the latter, for expenses, etc. He supposed that the money was not given as a reward to him for secret services, but to meet expenses incurred in paying for such services as magistrates are in the habit of receiving.

"Captain Armstrong likewise thinks that I was in error in supposing the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, respecting the conspiracy of the United Irishmen, was drawn up by Lord Castlereagh. It was drawn up by a gentleman *in the service* of Lord Castlereagh, of the name of Knox, commonly called 'Spectacle Knox.' He was not the brother of Lord Northland; he acted as a sort of private secretary to Lord Castlereagh; he was an able, clever man.

"In two or three places in the second volume, first series, Captain Armstrong refers to an error in the spelling of his name, the letter *e* being omitted in the name Warneford. He also corrects the error of calling him, in some places, Lieutenant Armstrong, instead of Captain. In conclusion, Captain Armstrong states that he never was a United Irishman; that he never was an Orangeman; that the original interview he had referred to with Lord Castlereagh, which was his first acquaintance with him, was subsequent to his (Captain

Armstrong's) introduction to the Sheares. That when Byrne proposed the interview to him with the Sheares, having followed him out to the door, and said to him in the street, 'Would you have any objection to meet the Sheares?' it instantly flashed across his mind for what object the interview was sought; that he consented to it, and immediately went to his friend Captain Clibborn, and was advised by him to meet the Sheares; that after his interview with them, he was introduced by Colonel L'Estrange to Lord Castlereagh; he had no previous acquaintance with his lordship.

"The above notes were read over to Captain Armstrong by me, in the presence of Counsellor O'H——, and the correctness of them was assented to by him.

(*Signed*) { "R. R. Madden.
"Thomas O'H——."

The preceding minutes of my communication with Captain Armstrong, are necessarily confined to the leading topics which were the subject of that communication.

I now proceed to give a memorandum of the conversation, drawn up on the day after its occurrence, the details of which are connected with the preceding notes, and which it was impossible to take down on the spot and during the conversation.

"I stated to Captain Armstrong that it was unnecessary for me to offer him any apology for anything I had written on the subject which our interview had reference to; our views respecting it were altogether different; my only object in communicating with him was to get any statement of facts which he might offer, and to

give publicity to it, with the view of promoting the interests of truth and justice.

"Captain Armstrong said his principal object was to enable me to correct some errors into which I had fallen. He was in the habit of reading a great deal, and his disposition led him to notice errors wherever he detected them, and even to take the trouble of pointing them out to the authors of the works in which he found them, though he had been wholly unacquainted with them. He spent a great deal of time in reading, and expended on books, in fact, more money than he could afford; and he repeated, it was a custom of his to notice errors and inaccuracies in books, and to point them out where they could be corrected. With respect to my work, he said, 'It is evident you are a partizan, and, therefore, your proceedings are of a partial kind, and tinctured with prejudice; but I have carefully read your work (the first series), and, I must say, the account of the events of the times you treat of is given with extraordinary correctness; it is a most valuable work, and, perhaps, no one but a partizan would have bestowed the same labour on it.

" 'My conduct,' Captain Armstrong continued, 'you, and all those who think as you do, speak of in terms of the utmost severity. I do not complain of your doing so: my only desire is to set you right as to facts. But others do not feel as you with respect to these proceedings; they approve of them, they appreciate my motives, they know the necessity there was for them, and the fortunate results of which they were productive to the country. Their good opinion is sufficient for me. I speak to you with the utmost frankness on this sub-

ject. I am ready to answer any question you choose to ask me; you do not know me, and may imagine I would conceal or distort facts. I am a plain, straightforward man, and the people in my neighbourhood know me perfectly well, and would trust me with anything, and confide in my statement.'

"I asked Captain Armstrong if he did not state, in his reply to the approbationary address of the officers of his regiment, in respect to his proceedings in the case of the *Sheares*, that he had not acted in this business from any interested motives, and had not thus acted for any reward. Captain Armstrong replied, that he never said he had received no reward; what he said was, that it was not with the expectation of getting a reward that he thus acted. I observed that his name was not in the list of those who had been receivers of the secret service money. Captain Armstrong said his name could not be found in any such list, for the reward he received was a pension, conferred on him by act of parliament, and if it had not thus been conferred on him by act of parliament, the late government would have taken it from him, which he, Captain Armstrong, thought they would not have been justified in doing.

"I asked Captain Armstrong if, during the period of his interviews with the Sheares, he had any communication with the Lord Chancellor Clare in regard to them. He replied that he had not. I asked if Lord Castlereagh appeared to attach any peculiar importance to the apprehension of the Sheares, or seemed more desirous that they should be laid hold of than any other of the known or suspected leaders who were then at large. Captain Armstrong replied that he was not aware of

such being the case; he only knew that Lord Castlereagh thought their detection of great importance, and had persuaded him to go to the house; that he would not have gone there if he had not been thus urged to do so. It was wrong, he believed, indeed he felt it was wrong, to have gone there and to have dined with them. It was only that part of the business he had any reason to regret.

"I asked who was present on that occasion. Captain Armstrong replied, there were three ladies present, and a slip of a girl, about fifteen, and the two men. The ladies were, the old lady, the mother, the wife of Henry, and the sister of the brothers. The young girl he did not know who she was; she might be the daughter of Henry; he did not know that she was; in fact he never remembered seeing any of his children. I asked some questions respecting their position at table. Captain Armstrong said, 'The dinner table was a large one, much longer than this (pointing to the one before him). The old lady sat at one side, the wife of Henry sat next her, the sister and the young girl at the other side; Henry sat at one end, and John at the other; I sat next John.'

"In relation to my account of this interview, Captain Armstrong's chief anxiety seemed to be to remove the impression, which he declared to be erroneous, that he had fondled or caressed the children of Henry Sheares. He said, 'Indeed I never was fond of children; it was not a custom of mine; I was not in the habit of taking notice of children.'

"Captain Armstrong stated, that when he went down to Kildare to join his regiment, he was escorted down

by four hundred men for his protection, and two field pieces. On his arrival at Kilcullen there were no tidings there of his regiment, so he joined another regiment, then on active duty in that neighbourhood.

"With respect to Byrne, the bookseller, Mr. Armstrong states he was quite sure that Byrne was true to his party, and believed him (Captain Armstrong) to be favourable to its views. He (Byrne) formed this opinion from his conversation, he supposed, in regard to some measures of the government which he disapproved of, especially to the enforcement of claims for certain taxes the year after the objects taxed had been given up by the parties; and also for assessed taxes, three years of which were required to be paid within one year, and nine years within three years. In reply to a question of Mr. O'H——n, Captain Armstrong said, Byrne was not prosecuted; he was permitted to go to America. Captain Armstrong stated, in speaking of military executions, that in those times the orders for them were not always given by officers in command, from whom they should emanate, but the subordinates took upon themselves often to act on such occasions.

"He requested me to read an address, presented to him by the colonel and other officers of his regiment in 1798, in approbation of his conduct in the case of the Sheares, and his reply to it. Having read aloud these documents, published in the 'Dublin Journal,' I asked Captain Armstrong if he wished to have them inserted, with the statement, in a new edition of my work. He replied that he had no anxiety for their publication; it was not necessary for him or his justification. His friends, who knew his conduct, the motives of it, and its

results, required no further justification of it from him.

"Counsellor O'H——n said he considered these documents historically important, and they ought to be published in justice to Captain Armstrong, as well as for enabling persons to comprehend the state of public feelings at that time. Captain Armstrong assented to this view, and communicated the published copies of these documents to me, which are appended to this statement.

(*Signed*) "R. R. MADDEN."

As the documents referred to are rather extensive, I take the following notice of them, and the transaction which brought them to light, from the "Nation" of September 23, 1843:

"The man who betrayed the gifted and gallant John Sheares (after Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet, the ablest of the United Irishmen) and his unfortunate brother Henry—who stole into their confidence to betray it—the man who was one hour smiling in the midst of their happy family, and the next in Castlereagh's office, retailing their conversation to the law officers of the crown, has not yet left the public stage. We perceive, by the 'Mercantile Advertiser' of last night, that he is not ashamed to come before the public in his own name, and talk boastingly of the spoils of his infamous career.

"HEAD POLICE OFFICE, FRIDAY.—Considerable interest was created in the Head Office this day, by the appearance of the once celebrated John Warneford Armstrong, who attended to prosecute a man named Egan for robbery of several articles of bijouterie and wearing apparel; and also Anthony Willis, of Lower Or-

mond Quay, for purchasing some of the property, knowing it to be stolen.

"It appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Armstrong, that on the night of the 20th of March, Ballycomber House, his residence in the King's County, was broken open, and property to a considerable amount, consisting of watches, rings, *a gold medal* (presented to him by the Orangemen of the King's County for his *services* in prosecuting to conviction John and Henry Sheares), were stolen therefrom. The venerable magistrate, as he is, identified several articles, among which was the red case which formerly contained that dear relic—that valuable certificate of his *sincerity* to his friends and his loyalty to his king.

"Barnes, of the detective police, proved the discovery of the watches and rings at several pawnbrokers where they had been pledged by Anthony Willis, and also the seizure of several articles of wearing apparel, etc., on Egan. This man, it appears, was a servant to Mr. Armstrong.

"After a long examination, Sir Nicholas Fitzimon agreed to take two securities, in £25 each, for the appearance of Willis at the next commission, and sent Egan for trial at the next King's County assizes.

"The readers of the unfortunate events of 1798 may wish to know how looks and feels one of the most remarkable actors in the tragic portion of the scenes then represented.

"He is now in his seventy-fourth year, and appears to be a hale, strong old man. He has a mark on the right side of his face, which extends from the forehead to the side of the mouth; it was made (he says) by a

blow from a dirk, which he received from the hand of a *rebel*, as he was about to proceed to Jersey to join his regiment. He is in great trouble about the medal, which, no doubt, he intended as an heir-loom, to pass from sire to son, as an honourable proof of the *loyalty* of the house of Ballycomber."

"TO CAPTAIN JOHN W. ARMSTRONG, KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT OF MILITIA.

"Dublin, December 23, 1798.

"SIR,—I am directed by the officers of the King's County Regiment to convey to you the enclosed, which, be assured, gives me much satisfaction.

"WM. W. WESTENRA,
"Lieut.-Colonel, King's County Regiment."

"Malahide, December 21, 1798.

"The officers of the King's County Regiment, assembled at Malahide, came to a resolution to convey to Captain John Warneford Armstrong, of the aforesaid regiment, the following, engraved on a medal:—

"SIR,—Having heard of late that your conduct respecting Messrs. Sheares has been in some instances, thoughtlessly as injuriously, reflected upon, we think we are bound, in justice to you, to the community, and to ourselves as a body, to convey to you, sir, our sentiments on that occasion, and to assure you of our general and most decided approbation. Had we imagined that so false a construction could have been put upon the motives that influenced your conduct, we should ere now (though separated as our regiment has been during the late rebellion) have declared the sense we entertained of the important service you have rendered your

country. Great, indeed, was the value of your information; and we, who are acquainted with all the circumstances, know that your conduct was disinterested, that you came forward without the expectation of reward, and, highly sensible of the danger you would incur, you despised it for the public good. We cannot conclude without observing that you acted with the private approbation of your friends in the regiment; that it was not a business of your own seeking: it was forced upon you by the infatuated men, whose conduct Providence seemed to direct, in making an attack upon you, so insulting to your feelings as an officer and as a man.

"The Officers of the King's County Regiment."

"TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WESTENRA, KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT.

"Malahide, December 24, 1798.

"Sir,—I have just received the address of the King's County Regiment, declaring their approbation of my conduct; and if anything could increase the pleasure I felt, it would be their having appointed you, sir, to deliver it to me—a person for whom I entertain so high a respect, and of such general estimation in the regiment. I beg you will convey to them my answer, which I enclose.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"John W. Armstrong,
"Captain, King's Co. Regiment."

"Malahide, December, 24, 1798.

"TO THE OFFICERS OF THE KING'S COUNTY REGIMENT.

"Gentlemen,—So flattering and honourable a testimony of your approbation of my conduct as you have

been pleased to express, and the very handsome manner in which you have had it conveyed to me, calls forth the gratitude and thanks of my heart. To preserve your good opinion shall be my unalterable and uniform endeavour; and to persevere in such conduct is the best return I can make. Dull, indeed, must have been my feelings, if your bright and distinguished example of affectionate loyalty to our beloved sovereign had not called forth every particle of vigour which I possessed. It is indisputably true that I was not actuated by any hope of reward, nor by the fear of punishment, in my conduct with regard to those unfortunate men whom I was obliged to prosecute. I acted from a purely disinterested principle, to serve my country, and I feel perfectly satisfied in the consciousness of having done so. Some people are of opinion that they were acquaintances of mine: the fact was otherwise.

"I never uttered a single syllable to either of them until I was introduced to them on Thursday, the 10th of May, and they were taken up on the 21st. Others say, and indeed it is the only thing like argument offered on the occasion, by those who have endeavoured to calumniate me, that it was improbable that they should put their lives into the hands of a stranger. To this point the answer is obvious: the insurrection was on the eve of breaking out—the time was pressing—they thought I might have been of critical service to them—it was worth running some risk for; and, surely, in the course of their proceedings they must have frequently put themselves in the power of as great strangers. The evidence of Kearney shows this pretty clearly.

"The only question that can admit of any doubt is,

whether, under the circumstances, it was becoming a man of honour to act as I have done. I must observe, that I put myself under the direction of my colonel and my friend; I acted by their advice, and, if I have done anything wrong, they are more culpable than I; but when I consider the dreadful conspiracy which has so long existed in the kingdom, whose malignant and desperate purpose had for many years been at work, the savage barbarity which had marked its progress, and had at length burst forth with all the horrors of rebellious outrage, to overthrow the government, and to subvert the monarchy, how many lives might probably be saved by a timely discovery of the principal and deep concern which these men were supposed to have in the business. When I consider all these points, and many more which occur to me, I have great doubt whether a man of strict honour would not be justifiable in seeking the confidence of these men for the purpose of detection. But mine is a much clearer case. These men made a most hostile attack upon me—as an officer, they offered me the highest insult, and, as an Irish subject, they sought (in order to forward their own views) to involve me in a transaction which would, probably, have led to infamy and ruin. I am confident that many people have endeavoured by indirect means to depreciate me in the general esteem; some have succeeded, but I was well aware that such would be the endeavour of the disaffected. So certain was I of it, that nothing but the zeal I was actuated by for my country's welfare, could have tempted me to expose myself to the public view, and to have rendered myself so very unpopular as I have done by thus discharging my duty; a duty the

more imperious, from the impossibility of any other person being able to frustrate their plans of treason.

"I believe I have been much traduced; but it matters me little what the disaffected, the disloyal, or those ignorant of the circumstances under which I acted, may think of my conduct; it was not to gain their good wishes that I risked my person and my reputation. *I am rewarded* [1] when approved of by men possessing as much honour, principle, and spirit, as any I am acquainted with. I shall always consider as the most fortunate event of my life, that one which has enabled me to save from massacre a multitude of my fellow-subjects, and probably all my brother officers.

"I remain, with every sentiment of gratitude and regard,

"Gentlemen, most sincerely yours,

(*Signed*) "JOHN W. ARMSTRONG."

JOHN HUGHES.

John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast, an United Irishman, was arrested in October, 1797, and, nominally at least, liberated, but taken to Dublin and kept under the surveillance of Major Sirr in the Castle for nearly two years. Terror probably first made this man the betrayer of his party. From the time of his liberation it appears he was in constant communication with the government authorities. He was employed to entrap Grattan, and swore that the latter was cognizant of the conspiracy of the United Irishmen. He went to Amer-

[1] No doubt of it, honourable Captain W. Armstrong!

ica, and with the wages of his iniquity bought slave property in the southern states, and died there a few years ago.

On the 30th of April, the month preceding the arrests, Mr. John Hughes, accompanied by Samuel Neilson, visited Lord Edward Fitzgerald at Cormick's in Thomas Street, where he was then in concealment. In the report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Lords, 1798, on the examination of John Hughes, of Belfast, it is stated by the latter that he went to Dublin on the 20th of April, and remained there about nine days. He called on Samuel Neilson, and went to Cormick's, where he found Lord Edward playing billiards with Lawless, and dined there with them.

About the 28th of April he breakfasted with Neilson at the house of Mr. Sweetman, who was then in prison. The former then lived at his house. Neilson and he (the same day) went in Mr. Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's at Tinnehinch. He states that Neilson and Grattan had some private conversation, and after some general conversation about the strength of the United Irishmen in the north, they left Mr. Grattan's, and on their way back, Neilson informed him he had sworn Mr. Grattan. On the 14th or 15th of May, Neilson and Lord Edward rode out to reconnoitre the approaches to Dublin on the Kildare side: they were stopped and questioned by the patrol at Palmerstown, and finally allowed to proceed.

Four days after Lord Edward's arrest, Neilson was arrested by Gregg, the jailor in front of Newgate, where he had been reconnoitering the prison, with a

view to the liberation of Lord Edward and the other state prisoners; a large number of men being in readiness to attack the gaol, and waiting for Neilson's return at a place called the Barley Fields.

It is then evident that Hughes was in the full confidence of Neilson on the 28th of April: there is no reason to believe that he ceased to be so previously to the 19th of May: and yet during this period, and long before it, there is very little doubt that Hughes was an informer.

Neilson's frank, open, unsuspecting nature was well known to the agents of government, and even to Lord Castlereagh, who was personally acquainted with Neilson, and on one occasion had visited him in prison.

Hughes, it is probable, was set upon him with a view to ascertain his haunts, and to enter into communication with his friends, for the special purpose of implicating Grattan and of discovering Lord Edward. That his perfidy never was suspected by Neilson during their intimacy, there are many proofs; and still more that Neilson's fidelity to the cause he had embarked in and the friends he was associated with, was never called in question by his companions and fellow prisoners, by Emmet, M'Neven, O'Connor, etc.; or if a doubt unfavourable to his honesty was expressed by John Sheares in his letter to Neilson, wherein he endeavours to dissuade him from attacking the jails, it must be considered rather in the light of an angry expostulation, than of an opinion seriously entertained and deliberately expressed.

This man, John Hughes, previously to the rebellion, was in comfortable circumstances, and bore a good

character in Belfast. He kept a large bookseller's and stationer's ship in that town.[1]

In his evidence before the Lords' Committee of 1798, he gives the following account of his career as a United Irishman. He became a member of the first Society of United Irishmen, in Belfast, 1793. About July, 1796, he joined the new organization, and was sworn in by Robert Orr, a chandler. There was no oath administered in the former society. He formed a society of United Irishmen himself in Belfast shortly after his admission, and that society consisted of Mr. Robert Hunter, broker; John Tisdall, notary; J. M'Clean, watchmaker; S. M'Clean, merchant; Thomas M'Donnell, grocer; J. Luke, linen factor; Hugh Crawford, linen merchant; A. M'Clean, woollen merchant; W. Crawford, ironmonger; H. Dunlap, builder; and W. Hogg, linen factor. He was secretary to the society; he swore in the members on the prayer-book,[2] furnished each with a "constitution," containing the test, which was repeated at the table.

In November, 1796, Bartholomew Teeling, of Dun-

[1] The house where Hughes lived in Belfast, was lately pointed out to me, No. 20 Bridge Street, within a few paces of a small, old-fashioned house, where Thomas M'Cabe, who designated himself, on his sign-board, "The Irish Slave," resided, at No. 6 North Street, within two doors of which lived Robert Orr, a gentleman not very celebrated for his loyalty; while on the opposite side, the site of the house of the chief founder of the United Irish Society, Samuel Neilson, is pointed out, at the bottom of Donegall Street, on which now stands the Commercial Hall. This neighbourhood, in fact, seems to have been a little focus of republicanism.

[2] It is worthy of notice that the oath of the United Irishmen commonly was administered either on a prayer book or the Scriptures, and it mattered not what prayer book was used, the same book serving often for persons of different religions.

dalk, a linen merchant, prevailed on him to go to Dublin to extend the societies there. In Dublin he communicated with Edward John Lewins, of Beresford Street. He returned to Belfast in December, 1796. From motives of caution he did not attend the societies, but in the day time, either in the street or at his own house, exerted himself amongst the young men of his acquaintance. Shortly before the Lent assizes in 1797, Mr. M'Gucken, the attorney, requested him to go to Dublin to arrange for Mr. Curran's engagement for the prisoners in the several jails on the north-east circuit, who were United Irishmen. A hundred guineas for each and every town he would have to attend, was agreed on.

The treasurer of the United Irishmen for the county Antrim, was Mr. Francis Jordan, of Belfast, and he collected the money for this purpose. Among the subscribers were Mr. Cunningham Gregg, twenty guineas; Charles Rankin, twenty guineas; Robert Thompson, twenty guineas. The subscriptions for the county Antrim amounted to £700 and upwards, and the county Down, £900. Mr. Alexander Lowry was the treasurer for Down. In the beginning of June, 1797, he was sent for to Dublin, but before going, had an oath administered to him by Magennis, that he would not communicate the names of any persons he should be introduced to there. In Dublin he was informed by Lowry and Teeling, that a national meeting was about being held of delegates from the different provinces, in order to get a general return of the strength of the United Irishmen, to determine whether an insurrection would then be practicable, and he was to report on the strength and

readiness of Down and Antrim. He expressed his opinion, that in consequence of the disarming, the generality of the people would not rise. He was afterwards told that this meeting had taken place at Jackson's in Church Street. Teeling showed him a map of Ireland, at his lodgings in Aungier Street, on which the plan of the insurrection was marked, as he was told, by some Irish officers who had been in the Austrian service, and who had expressed their opinion that the people were not in a state of preparation to succeed, being deficient in arms and ammunition.

The delegates left Dublin to organize their respective counties. They assembled the colonels in each county, to issue their directions for getting their regiments into readiness. The colonels of the county Antrim refused to come forward. Those of the county Down agreed to rise. The other counties of Ulster were disinclined to move, and therefore the intended rising did not take place.

In June, 1797, Hughes breakfasted with Teeling in Dublin, and met Magennis, of Balcaly, Tony M'Cann, of Dundalk,[1] Mr. Samuel Turner, Messrs. John and Patrick Byrne, of Dundalk, Colonel James Plunkett, A. Lowry, Mr. Cumming, of Galway, and Dr. M'Neven. The subject of their conference was the fitness of the country for an immediate rising. Teeling, Lowry, and M'Cann were in favour of an immediate effort; the others were afraid that the people were not sufficiently prepared for it.

[1] Subsequently a refugee, living in Hamburgh, where Campbell saw him, and on becoming acquainted with his story, wrote that beautiful ballad, "The Exile of Erin."

He left Dublin about the 14th of June, 1797, and shortly after attended a meeting at Randalstown, where there was much difference of opinion—one party being adverse to action without foreign aid, and another party, with whom was the Rev. A. M'Mahon, of Hollywood, in favour of rising on their own resources. The meeting broke up in consequence of the division among the Antrim colonels. M'Mahon was a member of the Ulster provincial committee; he told the meeting he was one of the seven colonels of the county Down who had been appointed leaders, and that he was also a member of the National Executive. Immediately after this meeting, M'Mahon, Rollo Reid, and John Magennis (a brother-in-law of Teeling), fled to Scotland, and M'Mahon went from thence to France. In the latter part of 1797, his (Hughes's) affairs were embarrassed, and he became a bankrupt. "He did not attend any civil or military meeting of United Irishmen from June, 1797, *till the month of March*, 1798, when he surrendered himself under the commission in Dublin."

The remainder of this man's evidence is of such a nature, as requires that it should be given without abridgment, as it appears in the report:—

"He went to Dublin on the 20th of April, and remained there about nine days. He called on Samuel Neilson, walked with him to Mr. Cormick's a feather merchant in Thomas Street. He was introduced by Neilson to Cormick, in the office. Cormick asked them to go up stairs; he and Neilson went up stairs, and found Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Lawless, the surgeon, playing billiards. He had been introduced to Lord Edward about a year before by Teeling; he was a

stranger to Lawless; so he staid about an hour; no particular conversations; was invited to dine there that day, and did so; the company were Lord Edward, Lawless, Neilson, Cormick, and his wife. The conversation turned upon the state of the country, and the violent measures of government in letting the army loose. The company were all of opinion that there was then no chance of the people resisting by force with any success. He was also introduced by Gordon, who had been in Newgate, and Robert Orr, of Belfast, chandler, to Mr. Rattigan, the timber merchant at the corner of Thomas Street. Rattigan talked to him on the state of the country and of the city of Dublin, and told him that they would begin the insurrection in Dublin by liberating the prisoners in Kilmainham. Rattigan showed him a plan of the intended attack upon Kilmainham. Whilst he was in Dublin, in April, he dined with Neilson at the Brazen Head. Next day, Neilson called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlaine's, to breakfast; Sweetman was then in prison, but Neilson lived in his house. Neilson took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him. When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilson told him he had something to say to Mr. Grattan in private, and desired him to take a walk in the demesne. Neilson, however, introduced him to Mr. Grattan first, and Mr. Grattan ordered a servant to attend him to show him the grounds. He returned in about half an hour. Went into Mr. Grattan's library; Neilson and Grattan were there together. Grattan asked a variety of questions touching the state of the country in the north: how many families had been

driven out, and how many houses burned by the government or the Orangemen. Grattan said he supposed he was an United Irishman. He said he was. Grattan asked him how many United Irishmen were in the province. He said he reckoned 126,000. Grattan asked him how many Orangemen there were. He said about 12,000. Grattan made no particular answer. Neilson and he left Grattan's about twelve in the day; they walked to their carriage, which was at Enniskerry; he asked Neilson what had passed between Grattan and him. Neilson evaded the question, but said generally that he had gone down to Grattan to ask him whether he would come forward, and that he had sworn him. That Grattan promised to meet him in Dublin before the next Tuesday. He left Dublin that evening, and returned to Belfast. He has known the Rev. Steele Dickson, of Portaferry, for two years intimately.

"On Friday, the 1st of June, Dickson told him that he was one of the adjutant-generals of the United Irishmen's forces in the county of Down, and that he (Dickson) would go to Ballynahinch, and remain there till Wednesday, as it was a central place, from which he could issue his orders to his officers.

"In February last, when the prisoners were trying at the commission, Priest Quigley introduced him to Citizen Baily, who was an officer in the East India Company's service, and lived near Canterbury, and also to the younger Binns from England; thinks his name is Benjamin.

"Binns told him he had distributed most of the printed addresses, entitled, 'United Britons to the

United Irishmen,' and gave him a copy, and directed him to print an edition of them, etc.

"He heard a Mr. Bonham came with Baily and Binns from London, and was the delegate from England to Ireland mentioned in the paper. He never saw Mr. Bonham; either Binns or Baily told him that the address was written by a Mr. Cosgrave of London, etc.

"*Quest.*—You have said that you were introduced to Mr. Grattan by Samuel Neilson, at his house in Tinnehinch, in April last: recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that fact?

"*Ans.*—I certainly can. About the 28th of April last I went to Mr. Grattan's, at Tinnehinch, with Samuel Neilson; on going into the house, we were showed into the library. Neilson introduced me to Mr. Grattan, and I soon after walked out, and left them alone for full half an hour. I saw a printed constitution of the United Irishmen in the room.

"*Quest.*—Can you say whether Mr. Grattan knew it to be the constitution of the United Irishmen?

"*Ans.*—I can, for he asked me some questions about it. He asked me also a variety of questions about the state of the north. When we were going away, I heard Mr. Grattan tell Neilson that he would be in town on or before the Tuesday following; and I understood from Neilson that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison, and on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan."

With respect to Hughes's evidence in reference to Mr. Grattan.—Neilson, on his examination before the Lords Committee, being informed that "it had been

stated to the committee that he had said he swore Mr. Grattan," replied: "I never did swear Mr. Grattan, nor have I ever said that I swore him." Being asked "if he had any interviews with Mr. Grattan since his liberation from confinement," he answered: "I was twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in April, 1797. I either showed Mr. Grattan the last constitution of the Society of United Irishmen, or explained it to him, and pressed him to come forward. I was accompanied at these interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond. But I do not believe Mr. Grattan was ever an United Irishman."

It seems as if, up to this period, the date of his examination, 9th of August, 1798, Neilson had been still in ignorance of Hughes having made disclosures, and especially of having given information of their visit, about the 28th of April, to Mr. Grattan; otherwise Neilson would hardly have omitted any mention of that interview.

But after his examination he addressed a letter to the lord-chancellor, expressing a wish to correct his evidence, "by stating that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan in company with Mr. John Hughes." [1]

The evidence of Hughes is the most specious account of the proceedings of the Ulster leaders that is to be found among the statements of any of the informers given in the secret reports, with the exception, perhaps, of that of Maguan of Saintfield.

[1] Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Memoirs of the Union," says, when Grattan was denounced in the Privy Council, in 1798, by Lord Clare, "Sir John Blaquiere and Dennis Brown, though adversaries, resisted the obviously vindictive attempt."

Even those of the Antrim United Irishmen whose lives were jeopardized by the disclosures of Hughes, who are still surviving in Belfast, admit that his disclosures in many points were truthful, free from personal malignity; and, notwithstanding the importance of the information he possessed and gave before the committee, *he never appeared as a witness at the trials of any of those persons he implicated by his disclosures.* They therefore speak of him in very different terms from those in which they are accustomed to discuss the exploits of other informers.

This circumstance on more than one occasion surprised me a good deal; but the cause of Mr. Hughes being kept back at a crisis when evidence like his would have insured the conviction of the Belfast leaders, with few, if indeed with any, exceptions, became at once intelligible enough to leave little doubt that he was reserved for higher functions than the Reynoldses and O'Briens, and more important objects were to be effected by him than he could achieve in the witness-box.

This man has carfeully suppressed the fact in his evidence, that in the year 1797 he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and immediately after being brought into Belfast, was liberated on bail. In the "History of Belfast" the fact is stated in these terms: "October 20th.—John Hughes, bookseller and stationer in this town, having been apprehended at Newry on a charge of high treason, was this forenoon brought in here in a postchaise, escorted by a party of light dragoons, and lodged in the Artillery Barracks. In the same evening he was liberated on bail." [1]

[1] "History of Belfast," p. 478.

Immediately after his liberation, a man who possessed the confidence of Neilson, Russell, and Robert Emmet, one of the most intelligent, active, and trusty agents of these persons, both in 1798 and 1803—the well known James Hope—had an interview with Hughes at his house in Church Street. The particulars of that interview were communicated to me by Hope, with a great deal of other valuable information, from his own written documents.

After some discourse with Hope respecting Hughes's recent liberation, Hughes began inveighing against the inefficiency of the person who was then in the chief command of the Antrim United Irish force, Mr. Sims: he attributed all the misfortunes which had fallen on individuals of their body, to the unfitness of this man for the post assigned to him, and even insinuated that this person and another were playing fast and loose with the cause, and were only biding their time to abandon or betray it. He plainly said, should he be again arrested, if the authorities threatened him with punishment to extort confession, he would inform them of all he knew of the parties referred to. After some further conversation, he proposed to Hope to get rid of those persons, who were represented by him (perhaps not altogether erroneously either) as of doubtful zeal and earnestness in the cause, by at once giving informations against them. Hope replied by pulling a pistol from his breast, and telling him, if ever he repeated such a proposition, he would shoot him.

The use which was made of Hughes, after Lord Edward's arrest, and at the period too when he had his head-quarters at the Castle in Dublin, is very clearly

shown in the narrative of the confinement and exile of the Rev. William Steele Dickson, Presbyterian minister of Portaferry, in the County Down.

Dr. Dickson was arrested on the 4th June, 1798, in consequence of the disclosures made by Maguan and Hughes.

During his confinement in the house called the Donegal Arms, then the provost-prison of Belfast, the plan was carried into effect, which had been very generally adopted at this frightful period in other parts of the country, of apprehending some of the least suspected informers, and having it rumoured abroad that such persons had been arrested as ringleaders of the rebels, who were sure to be convicted, and then placing these persons among the unfortunate prisoners, for the purpose of making the latter furnish evidence against themselves and their companions. This proceeding, which would hardly be had recourse to in any civilized country in these times, is thus described by Dr. Dickson, from his own sad experience of it:—

"The first of these persons, of whom I had any knowledge, or by whom I was beset, was the notorious John Hughes, a man some years before of considerable respectability, but with whom I never had any particular connection, or even intimate acquaintance. However, he was fixed on as most likely to succeed in entrapping me and a few others. With a view to this, opportunity was taken to excite our compassion, either on the day of, or after, his arrest. We were entertained with a fable truly affecting, 'that there was no hope of saving his life; that his mind was deranged; that he was treated with great cruelty; and that he was placed

among a crowd of poor wretches, with whom he could neither have conversation nor comfort.' This pathetic fiction was immediately followed with an observation, that 'if we could possibly make room for him, taking him to us would be an act of the greatest charity.' Completely imposed on by the tale, we instantly yielded to the application, and smothering, though we were, received him into our *stove*. On his entrance, his looks and manner were wild, unsettled, and strongly marked with melancholy. Afterwards, he talked in a desponding tone of the certainty of his conviction, and sometimes of a secret conspiracy against him, in which, as it appeared, he considered some of us as concerned. At other times he would start with seeming horror, and exclaim that the sentinel was about to shoot him. On the whole, though he sometimes talked soberly, and generally *listened attentively to our conversation*, he acted his part so well at intervals, that during two nights and the intermediate day, I was as fully convinced of his derangement as I was of my own existence, and under this impression, not only prayed with him and for him in his seemingly composed moments, but was quite delighted with the *wonderful* comfort which *devotional exercises* seemed to give him. Some of our party, however, suspected him of imposture from the first; and their suspicion was soon confirmed by his being removed for some time every day to a distant apartment, and detained in secret conference. His total removal from us a few days afterwards, and his *symptoms of insanity* suddenly disappearing, certainly succeeded suspicion, and his name was consigned to infamy, together with those of his employers.

"Besides Hughes, other informers were placed among us about the same time, one of whom was the Mr. Maguan mentioned by him in his deposition, which will appear afterwards. He, like the other, was committed under the most dreadful denunciations of vengeance, and, as the other had done, expressed the most lively apprehensions of his impending fate, even with lamentations and tears. He made his way to me frequently and under various pretexts; sometimes to complain of his melancholy situation, sometimes to borrow trifles, and at others to affect confidential conversation or ask advice." [1]

With respect to Mr. Hughes, the circumstances which require consideration, are the following:—

In October, 1797, he is arrested and charged with high treason, brought into Belfast, and liberated the same day on bail. He becomes a bankrupt the same year, and in March, 1798, he surrenders himself under the commission in Dublin.

In April, between the 20th and 29th of that month, he visited Lord Edward with Neilson; about the 28th of the same month, accompanied by Neilson, he also visited Mr. Grattan. On the 19th of May, Lord Edward was arrested. Hughes's services are found employed in the north in the beginning of the next month, worming himself into the confidence of Dr. Steele Dickson, supposed to be the adjutant-general of the county Down, a man, of all others of the Ulster leaders, against whom evidence was most desired. For this purpose, we find him apprehended on the 7th of June, at Belfast,[2]

[1] Dr. Dickson's "Narrative," p. 63.

[2] "Belfast History," p. 484.

and the immediate object of this colourable arrest, to place him in confinement with the prisoners recently taken up in Belfast, in order to obtain further and still fuller evidence of their guilt from some of them. Of this arrest, as well as of the former, Mr. Hughes thought it desirable to make no mention in his evidence.

Quarters in the Castle were assigned to Mr. Hughes shortly after Lord Edward's arrest. The following data will afford some clue to the period of his residence there:—

"Dec. 9, 1801.—Campbell, for the use of his rooms in the Castle for Conlan and Hughes, since June, 1798, £22 15 *s.*"

Again:—

"March 20, 1802.—Campbell, for lodging of Hughes and Conlan, £22 15s."

It would seem that no expenses of these gentlemen were left undefrayed; even their washing-bills were paid for them.

"February 12, 1801.—Manders, washing for Hughes and Conlan, £11 7*s.* 6*d.*"

So that from June, 1798, to the latter end of March, 1802, we find the head-quarters of Mr. Hughes were at the Castle.

The reward for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was offered on the 11th of May, earned on the 19th, and paid on the 20th of the month following, to F. H. The reader has been furnished with sufficient data to enable him to determine whether those initials were intended to designate this man or some other in-

dividual; whether the similarity of the capital letters I and F in the handwriting in question, may admit, or not, of one letter being mistaken for another; and lastly, whether the same error (intentional, or only apparently so) had occurred, which caused the name of the Saintfield informer, in the parliamentary report of his evidence, to be set down Nicholas Maguan, and in the written account of the remuneration of his services (and those of his colleagues) to be given as J. Magin. Of the latter person it may not be foreign to the subject to say a few words.

This Magin (or Maguan), of Saintfield, in the county of Down, was a poor man, holding a few acres of ground in the neighbourhood of Saintfield. In the Commons' report of the secret committee, he is made to figure, in the notice of his evidence, as a person of high rank and standing in his society. The Rev. John Cleland, who had been private tutor to Lord Castlereagh, and then was chaplain and agent, both private and political, of the Earl of Londonderry, in the course of his magisterial duties, which chiefly consisted in hunting after informers for his patron, and arranging with the sheriff for the packing of the juries, who were to try the persons who were informed against by his agents, had succeeded in gaining over an active and intelligent member of the Saintfield society of United Irishmen of the name of Magin. This man reported to him, after each meeting he attended, what had transpired; and the first meeting he made a disclosure of the proceedings of was that of the provincial meeting of Ulster, held on the 14th of April, 1797; and he regularly communicated to Cleland the proceedings of each

meeting, up to the 31st of May, 1798, which was the last he appears to have attended.

Who can possibly deny that government had been in full possession of the plans of the United Irishmen from the month of April, 1797, through this source at least, not to mention the earlier disclosures made to them by other informers?

If the services rendered by this man are to be estimated by the amount of their reward, they must have been considerable. The following items, at least, will give some idea of the estimation in which they were held:—

"Aug.	16,	1798—J. Magin . .	£700	0	0
"	17,	" do. . . .	56	17	6"

Notwithstanding the immense sum of money lavished on him, from being an industrious, honest man previously to his new pursuits as an informer, he became an improvident, indolent, dissipated person, addicted to gambling, and in the course of a few years his easily-gotten wealth was gone, and he had to earn his bread in the neighbourhood of Belfast as a common working gardener, and in this employment he died there, a few years ago.

Mr. Macaulay, parish priest of Downpatrick, speaking of Maginn the informer, states that an exposure was made by him of the government party, in certain letters published in the "Dublin Evening Post," some time in 1814, or thereabouts, in which Maginn charged Lord Castlereagh with breaking faith with him. Mr. Macaulay says he knows he withstood most tempting offers made to him by government, to induce him to

give, in open court, the evidence he furnished in private. On one occasion, one thousand guineas were offered to be paid down on the spot as his reward, if he convicted a particular individual; but in vain. Is not this a singular trait of character?

The late Dr. M'Donnell, of Belfast, informed the author, that, wishing about that time (1797), to improve himself in practical anatomy, he formed an acquaintance with Maguan's brother, a surgeon in the navy; they used to meet for dissection. On one occasion, Dr. M'Donnell called at his lodgings to see Surgeon Maguan by appointment; after waiting some time, the informer come in, introduced himself, spoke of the unsettled state of the country, of his respect for Dr. M'Donnell, told him he had been arranging with the parties in authority the names of the persons to be tried next; said perhaps he would like to see the list of names; laid it before him, and left the room. Dr. M'Donnell read over the list, not feeling very comfortable, it may be imagined; and Maguan, having given him ample time, returned to say he could not see his brother, the surgeon, that day.

Dr. M'Donnell, not knowing how to act, at length determined to see Dr. White, to whom he gave the names of their mutual friends, who were marked out for ruin.

Of Mr. Hughes, from the month of March, 1802, when his last expenses at the Castle were defrayed, in the preceding month, we find the only payment which appears made to him, in which his name is given at full length:—

"Feb. 6, 1802—John Hughes, of
———, in full of all claims, . £200 0 0"

This being the only item bearing his name, when the enormous sum of money received by Maguan is taken into account, and it is remembered that the evidence of Hughes was of such great importance, it cannot be believed that he received no other recompense.

In fact, the wording of the entry of the 6th of February, "in full of all demands," shows that former sums had been paid, if any judgment may be formed from similar terms in reference to a multitude of other cases of a like description, when the persons at this period were finally paid off, after previous payments. No such items in connection with the name of Hughes are amongst them.

Yet his services were of an earlier date, and of more importance, than most of them.

In 1797, M'Gucken had to communicate with the officers of that department of the government, with whom lay the duty of granting licenses to king's counsel to defend prisoners in cases of criminal prosecutions. M'Gucken was then the law-agent of the prisoners of most of the Antrim societies of United Irishmen. The person fixed on for going to Dublin to procure the services of counsel for the unfortunate clients of this gentleman was Mr. Hughes. Treason upon treason meets our eyes at every step of the agents, actors, and adversaries too, of this conspiracy. It is painful to trace the revolting progress of such perfidy, but it is needful to unmask and to expose its hideousness, in order to prevent a recurrence to the use or practice of its wickedness.

It will be seen that M'Gucken's "services" did not go without their reward in this world.

"March 5, 1799. J. Pollock for M'Gucken, sent to him by post to Belfast	£60	0	0
"October 1, 1799. M'Gucken, Belfast, per post, by direction of Mr. Cooke	50	0	0
"January 2, 1800. Mr. Pollock for Mr. M'Gucken	100	0	0
"April 1, 1800. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's order . . .	£50	0	0
"June 11, 1800. M'Gucken, per ditto	50	0	0
"June 21, 1800. Mr. Pollock for M'Gucken	100	0	0
"January 1, 1801. M'Gucken, per post to Belfast	100	0	0
"February 20, 1802, J. M'Gucken, to replace £100 advanced to him, May 16, 1801, but afterwards stopped out of his pension	100	0	0
"February 12, 1803. Mr. Pollock for M'Gucken, an extra allowance	50	0	0
"June 25, 1803. Mr. Pollock for J. M'Gucken	£100	0	0
"September 19, 1803. Mr. Marsden to send to M'Gucken . .	100	0	0
"December 5, 1803. J. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's note . .	100	0	0

"February 7, 1804. Mr. Pollock
for M'Gucken . . . . . £500 0 0"

It may be presumed, from these large sums, and his pension moreover, that Mr. M'Gucken rendered many and important services.

Though the first item which bears his initials is dated the 5th of March, 1799, several other sums of a previous date are set down, with the name of the person only through whom the succeeding payments were chiefly made, and one to the amount of £300.

The earliest proof of Mr. M'Gucken's services that has transpired, was given on the occasion of the disappearance of six brass field-pieces of the Belfast Volunteer Corps, the property of the town of Belfast, which General Nugent issued a proclamation to be given up to him, the 28th May, 1798. Four of the pieces were given up on the 30th, the two others Mr. Robert Getty was held responsible for, as the officer of that corps, in whose charge they had been originally placed. The pieces having been carried away clandestinely long before, without the knowledge of Mr. Getty, it was not in his power to produce them: this gentleman was arrested and sent to the provost. This measure excited much surprise in Belfast, even at a period when any outrage on one of the old volunteers of independent principles, excited little. Mr. Getty was a man of undoubted loyalty; he had been, however, one of the early advocates of Catholic emancipation, but on every political subject was of very moderate opinions. In those times, few considerations weighed against the secret charges of a recognized informer.

Mr. Getty's life was in imminent peril, and, probably,

if the crown-solicitor, Mr. Pollock, had not visited him in the provost, he would have been hanged. It turned out that some charges, but utterly unfounded ones, had been laid against him. Getty's influence, however, and high character, triumphed over the malignity of the informer, and he was released.

It was only in the year 1809 or 1810, that Mr. Pollock told Getty, that the informer against him was Mr. James M'Gucken, the attorney. He showed Mr. Getty the informations, and I have good authority for saying there was no truth in them. Mr. Getty never could account for this proceeding; he had never given any offence to this man, and from his early advocacy of emancipation, to the last day of his life, was a favourite with his Roman Catholic townsmen, to which body M'Gucken belonged. The late General Coulson, an aide-de-camp at that time to General Barber, subsequently informed a member of his family, that one of M'Gucken's relations had been arrested by him in 1798, of whose guilt there was not the slightest doubt; he was allowed, however, to escape, but why, he did not know.

In the year 1802, there being no longer a field for the services of Mr. Hughes, he was "paid off," and permitted, like Mr. Reynolds, to "bid an eternal farewell to his friends and country." His loss, like that of Mr. Reynolds, no doubt, was borne with Christian fortitude.

His acquaintances in Belfast heard no more of him—where he went to, or what became of him, none of his former friends knew. It was only very recently I obtained any information that could be relied on about him. It seems, on quitting this country in 1802, he proceeded to Charlestown, and there embarked in business. About

ten years subsequently, he came over from America to Liverpool with a cargo of merchandize. He called on a merchant of that place, Mr. Francis Jordan, formerly of Belfast, and stated that he wished to consign the cargo he had then for sale to him. He said he had always a very kindly feeling towards his old friends and townsmen, and added, "I know you do not think well of me; but ill as you may think of me, I never appeared against any individual. The information I gave was to save myself, but it injured no one."

After disposing of his cargo, he returned to America and his slaves, and has not since been heard of in this country. In concluding the account of this man, I feel bound to say, that, having carefully examined his information, and compared it with that which I myself received in Belfast from various persons, and even from some of those persons seriously implicated by his disclosures, that the statements he has given respecting the proceedings of the United Irishmen in the north, are generally to be relied on, and none of his associates speak of him as having been actuated by any malicious or vindictive motives in making those disclosures.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING JOHN HUGHES

Communication from Mr. Francis Jordan, of Liverpool, respecting John Hughes

"Park Cottage, Liverpool,
Feb. 10, 1843.

"With respect to the reference to my name in the evidence of Hughes, when I state that I am in my eighty-fourth year, you will not be surprised that I had totally

forgotten the report of the Lords' committee. That part of it which relates to me is a fabrication *in toto.* I enclose a copy of a letter I received in reply to one of mine at the time, from my friend, Cunningham Gregg, of Belfast, and also a copy of the advertisement which I requested him to insert in the 'Belfast Newsletter,' the Tory paper of the day. I now join in the regret he expressed at his not having inserted it.

"In the year 1804, the informer Hughes came to Liverpool from America, where he had been sent, or agreed to emigrate to, by government. He passed himself off here as John H. Henry, merchant. Being informed of his arrival, I had an interview with him, at which he agreed, and did before the then mayor, make oath, that the part of the depositions in the Lords' committee respecting me, was not his, but the fabrication of Mr. John Pollock, who pressed him to swear to it, but which he solemnly refused to do.

"I submit these simple facts to the author of the work I have referred to. I have done with all public matters. I have served seven years as a member of the corporation for the ward I live in, and the office of a county magistrate.

(*Signed*) "Francis Jordan."

"Belfast, November 12, 1803.

"Dear J.,—I am sorry I cannot find the paper you sent in 1798. I examined all my papers to no purpose. I remember it well, as I had a meeting of all your friends in consequence; indeed we had a great deal of conversation on it, and we determined not to put it into the 'Belfast Newsletter,' considering the information of

Hughes false, and made for him to calumniate you. Finding no grounds to satisfy the malice of a *few*, who were well known, and as we found no honest man here considered the information true, we thought publishing it would please *them*, and could do you no good amongst your numerous friends in this quarter. I regret now I did not conform to your orders; excuse me. Enclosed you have, as near as I can remember, the copy of the document. The original, I hope, will turn up, as I shall continue my endeavours to find it; I am sure it must be amongst my papers.

"Yours sincerely,

(*Signed*) "CUNN. GREGG."

"Observing in the reports stated to be given before the committee of parliament, by an informer named Hughes, who therein asserts that I was treasurer of the county Antrim, I take the earliest opportunity of declaring that the said assertion is false; as far as regards me, is an infamous falsehood.

(*Signed*) "FRANCIS JORDAN.

"Liverpool, 1798."

"I cannot say the exact date; it was in the summer of the year.

(*Signed*) "C. G."

SUBSTANCE OF A DEPOSITION, SWORN BEFORE THE MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL, BY JOHN HUGHES, IN 1804.

"I, John Hughes, formerly of Belfast, stationer, but now residing in the United States, having read the report of the House of Lords' committee of Ireland, in which it is stated that I said Mr. Francis Jordan, of

Belfast, was treasurer of the United Irishmen of the county Antrim, do swear that I made no such declaration; that the same is, in my opinion, falsificated by the crown-solicitor, who urged me to swear to the deposition, but which I refused, stating it contained a number of falsehoods."

HOPE'S PAPERS.

"Mr. Samuel Neilson's aunt was married to Matthew Hughes. Matthew Hughes had a sister married to James Hughes, and John Hughes was their son. Mr. Neilson's mother's maiden name was Carson; she had a brother married in the Hughes family. There were different families of the Hugheses, all respectable farmers. For some misconduct of James Hughes, he was not associated with by his relatives; his wife left him, and came to Belfast, where she set up a public-house for the sale of spirits; had her son John educated, and bound apprentice to the editor and proprietor of the 'Belfast Newsletter'. John Hughes, having completed his apprenticeship in the office of the 'Newsletter,' he set up as a stationer; he also embarked in other business of a manufacturing kind, and became a bankrupt in the year 1797. From his mother's good conduct and his own plausibility, his father's faults were forgotten, and he was never suspected of treachery until it was too late. He was Lord Edward's confidential friend until the very day of his arrest."

APPENDIX IV

MAJOR SIRR AND "HIS PEOPLE."

THE father of Henry Sirr served in the army, and retired from it with the rank of major. His daughter married a Mr. Minchin, of Grange, in the vicinity of Dublin. Sir Richard Musgrave gives an account of an attack made on the house of Mr. Minchin, and of Major Sirr the elder being in the house at the time it was plundered, in the month of May, 1798. The design of the assailants, he states, was to murder Minchin, who fortunately happened to be from home when the attack was made. The son of the old major, about 1794 or 1795, set up in Dublin in the business of a wine merchant. In 1797, the name of Henry Charles Sirr, wine merchant, 35 French Street, appears in the "Dublin Directory." In 1798 he is likewise styled a wine merchant, and then living at 77 Dame Street. His relative, Mr. Humphrey Minchin, was a member of the corporation, and of considerable influence in that body in 1797: his father was in the commission of the peace: and by their interest and the patronage of his friend Major Sandys, brigade-major of the garrison, he obtained the office of deputy-town-major in 1796.

One of the earliest official exploits of the major (disclosed on the trial of Finnerty), in which he manifested his gallantry, was the arrest of the editor of the "Press"

newspaper in 1797, and the seizure of the printed paper and books of that establishment, for which latter act he had not authority. On the trial of Finnerty the major was examined, and being asked by Mr. Sampson if he had seized these papers, the major's prudent reply was, "I will not answer." From this time, his services chiefly consisted in organizing and maintaining a band of wretches, who were employed at the assizes throughout the country, but especially in the vicinity of Dublin, as informers. They were known to the people by the name of the "Battalion of Testimony."

It is said, on high authority, that the employment of spies and informers tends rather to the increase than the suppression of crime, and that a good government has no need of their infamous services. One thing is certain, that their services were thought useful to a bad government; and the same circumstance that rendered their services necessary, made their infamy a matter of little moment to their employers. From the year 1796 to 1800, a set of miscreants, steeped in crime, sunk in debauchery, prone to violence, and reckless of character, constituted what was called the "Major's People." A number of these people were domiciled within the gates of the Castle, where there were regular places of entertainment allotted for them contiguous to the viceroy's palace; for another company of them, a house was allotted opposite Kilmainham jail, familiarly known to the people by the name of the "Stag House"; and for one batch of them, who could not be trusted with liberty, there was one of the yards of that prison, with the surrounding cells, assigned to them, which is still called the "Stag Yard." These persons were consid-

ered under the immediate protection of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, and to interfere with them in the course of their duties as spies or witnesses, was to incur the vengeance of their redoubtable patrons.

When the country was broken down sufficiently in strength and spirit to effect the Union, these men were turned adrift on society. A great many of them took to desperate courses, and acting under the dominion of violent passions, they came to violent ends. The common people ascribed, and to this day, continue to ascribe, their sudden and unprovided deaths to the divine retribution. The common expression is, "The judgment of God fell on them." Perhaps it would be more consonant to a widely extended knowledge of the action of those general laws of nature which govern humanity, to regard the deaths of unjust and cruel men, as the natural consequence of violent courses, and the aggregate of such awful examples as an evidence of that law of nature, in its extended application, which visits, even in this world, signal violations of humanity with a general rather than a particular retribution. Some of the men I speak of, expiated their subsequent crimes on the gallows: others were transported; several committed suicide; many of them, however, whose guilt was of as deep a die as that of Crawley or O'Brien, were men who could not say, like these unfortunate persons, when the times of public commotion were at an end, they had not the means to live; but their superiors in rank, fortune, and education, their employers and accomplices, who superintended their performances in the witness-box and at the triangles, who witnessed and directed their infliction of the tortures of the pitch-cap and the taws,

still lived without reproach, but it could not be without remorse. And charity would hope that the time that was given them, was afforded for repentance!

The following document, obtained from the celebrated informer Newell, by a female correspondent of the "Press," was published in that paper in 1798:—

MUSTER ROLL AND WEEKLY SUBSISTENCE.

	£	s.	d.
Newell,	5	13	9
Dutton,	5	13	9
O'Brien,	4	11	0
Clark,	4	11	0
M'Dermot,	4	11	0
Murphy	4	11	0
Hill,	4	11	0
Davison,	4	11	0
Rogers,	4	11	0
Mulvany,	4	11	0
Ellison,	4	11	0
Darby,	4	11	0
Murdock,	4	11	0
Forty-eight underworkers, at two guineas each per week,	109	4	0
	£170	12	6

It appears by the statement of this correspondent, that the members of this battalion of testimony were regularly drilled by Major Sirr and an officer of the name of Fox, and instructed in the art of swearing, deposing, and their other business of informers and fabricators of information.

The deeds of these men, even while they were under his direction and that of Major Sandys, domiciled in their quarters in the Castle, were of the most lawless and violent description. Newell fired a pistol at a sentinel on guard at the principal entrance of the Castle, because the soldier dared to prevent his entering at an unseasonable hour of the night. For this slight offence Newell was confined to his room in the Castle for a few days. Murdock attempted to murder Newell in the Castle; he fired at this man in his own room; and Murdock being a person of less importance to his employers than Newell, was sent to Newgate. Mr. James Bird, *alias* Smith, a native of England, on whose information Neilson and several northerns were arrested, subsequently retracted what he had sworn. He fled from the Castle, and wrote a letter to Mr. Cooke,[1] threatening disclosures of the means that had been taken to procure his testimony, and was apprehended in Louth in the latter part of 1798. During his confinement in Newgate, he wrote a letter to Mr. Grattan,[2] acknowledging that he had been tampered with by one of his enemies, to give evidence against him. He addressed a similar letter to Neilson; another letter to Mr. John Giffard, in which he reminds him of his literary labours in the "Dublin Journal."[3] Bird's example was followed by John Edward Newell. He likewise abandoned the battalion of the major, fled from the Castle, made a written statement of his perjuries, and subsequently wrote a pamphlet, in which he detailed the iniquities of his career as

[1] "Press" Newspaper, March 1, 1798. M'Donnell's "Dublin Weekly Journal," February 24, 1798.

[2] "Grattan's Life," by his Son, vol. iv., p. 427.

[3] "Press" Newspaper, February 6, 1798.

an informer. His letter to Mr. Cooke was published in the "Press," No. 56; and his pamphlet (one of the most singular records of infamy probably in existence) was printed in Belfast, where he fled on his abandonment of his calling. There he revenged himself of Murdock for his attack on his life, by robbing that person of his wife; and when on the point of embarking at a place called Doagh, in the neighbourhood of Belfast (the scene of his former services, when he went about in a mask, escorted by General Barber and a party of soldiers, and pointed out such persons as he thought proper to swear against), he suddenly disappeared, and there is but too much reason to believe he was murdered by the very persons who harboured him at that place, and had kept him previously concealed in Belfast.

These are frightful statements; but those who think they should be buried in oblivion, either have more consideration for the dead than the living, or have more regard for their own sensations than for the security of society from the machinations of such miscreants. Who can become acquainted with such statements, and reflect on the results of public commotions—the disengagement of wickedness that then takes place in the conflict of all the antagonist elements of society—without feeling that the greatest of all human evils is civil war, and the conduct that leads to it the highest of all crimes?

The career of one of the subordinate agents of that system, of which Major Sirr was the chief functionary, remains to be noticed.

The favourite follower and emissary of Major Sirr was a man of the name of O'Brien. The infamy of this

man's character is without a parallel in our history. In France his depravity may have been equalled, but it could hardly have been surpassed.

A detailed and authentic account of O'Brien's career has been given in a recent periodical, which fully agrees with all the information I have received respecting this man's exploits and character:—

"O'Brien was a native of Stradbally, in the Queen's County; and having early in life lost his character amongst his rustic neighbours, and committed atrocious crimes, he had to fly from his native place.[1] He came to Dublin, and for a few years found employment in the gardens of Mr. La Touche, at Marley. Being of an idle and vicious nature, he afterwards enlisted in the service of some excise officer, and first commenced his career as an informer and impostor, by prying into the conduct of the publicans in the neighbourhood of Dub-

[1] O'Brien began his career of blood, it is stated, about three years before the rebellion, by the robbery and murder of a county Meath gentleman of high respectability, Mr. Adare, who resided near Dunboyne. There were three or four persons concerned in this crime, but the actual murder was committed by O'Brien. The stolen plate was offered for sale by O'Brien and one of his accomplices, to the late Alderman West and his brother, silversmiths of Dublin. The plate was broken up, but it had been sold to Mr. Adare by the Wests, and was recognized by them. One of the brothers, noticing a portion of Adare's crest, quietly walked into a back room off the shop, got into the street by the hall-door, and immediately closed the shop-door. O'Brien, however, was then alone inside, his companion had slunk off. He was secured and sent to jail, where he offered to turn approver. On his information, all his accomplices were taken up, and on his evidence were condemned and executed. His success in this affair, and the peculiar coolness of his villainy, recommended him to Major Sirr; he was taken up by him, and employed in state stagging. He lived by blood, and he died for the shedding of it.—R. R. M.

lin, for breaches of the revenue regulations; and between the rewards he received from his employers, and the bribes he extorted from the publicans whom he intimidated, he contrived to supply his pockets with money for some time. The political organization which was in progress amongst the people of Dublin in the early part of the year 1797 afforded, however, a more lucrative employment for the spy and informer than the pursuits in which he had been heretofore engaged. In the month of April, 1797, O'Brien informed a magistrate of the Queen's County, named Higgins, who was then in Dublin, that he knew all the circumstances connected with the organization of the union then going on amongst the people, and that he had been forced to take the oath of the society contrary to his inclination.[1] Higgins immediately communicated the intelligence to Lord Portarlington, who afterwards introduced O'Brien to Mr. Secretary Cooke and some members of the government, in the chamber of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Having heard the story from O'Brien, it was finally arranged between him and his new friends, in order to insure the fulfilment of their projects, that O'Brien should enlist in one of the dragoon regiments then quartered in Dublin, and still continue to attend the meetings of the society, for the acquisition of further intelligence. Mr. O'Brien having

[1] Jemmy O'Brien, by his own testimony, became a United Irishman on the 25th of April, 1797, and if the statement of one of his associates, Patrick Maguire, of Phibsborough, may be relied on, "Jemmy" was seen by him, while transacting some business in the Castle connected with the transmission of ordnance stores, coming out of the Secretary's office in the Castle, on the 2nd of May, about a week after he (Maguire) had seen him sworn as a United Irishman.—R. R. M.

been engaged as a spy and informer amongst the people in Dublin, the advisers of the government thought they might likewise avail themselves of his services within the walls of the barracks, where it was suspected that sedition was also making its way amongst the military bands. The attorney-general openly avowed the arrangement thus agreed upon during the course of the trials that subsequently occurred. O'Brien, acting under the guidance of his employers, continued to communicate with them, and according to his own testimony, was actually appointed secretary to a branch of the confederacy during this period; and in the month of May, 1797, a considerable number of men assembled in a public-house in Meath Street, were apprehended by Major Sirr and a military party, and upon O'Brien's information, were subsequently indicted for high treason. The trial of the persons thus apprehended did not take place until the month of January, 1798, and during that interval O'Brien continued on active service for the state; but his first appearance in a court of justice, as a witness, put an end to his utility in that character, by the exposure of his infamous life, and the enormity of the perjuries he dared to practise on the occasion.

"The first victim selected for his testimony was a person named Patrick Finney. The informer's tale was well connected and artfully told: being uncontradicted, a conviction upon an indictment for high treason must have followed: but the accused was ably defended, and by the united effect of a masterly cross-examination of the informer himself, and the testimony of several respectable witnesses, O'Brien's evidence was

discredited, and Finney was acquitted. The lives of a crowd of men depended upon the result of this first trial; and the crown prosecutors, finding their chief evidence thus branded with perjury in the outset, were obliged to abandon the prosecution of all the other persons who had been apprehended upon his information, and they were consequently discharged upon the motion of the attorney-general at the termination of the commission.

"The stop thus put to O'Brien's murderous career, was chiefly owing to the skill and advocacy of Curran, who defended Finney. His address to the court contains some of the finest specimens of eloquence that even *he* ever delivered. The witness having stated that he knew of ten thousand men being leagued in treasonable conspiracy within the city of Dublin, Mr. Curran, in commenting on that allegation, said: 'Are you prepared, when O'Brien shall come forward against ten thousand of your fellow-citizens, to assist him in digging the graves which he has destined to receive them, one by one? No! could your hearts yield for a moment to the suggestion, your own reflections would vindicate the justice of God and the insulted character of man; you would fly from the secrets of your chamber, and take refuge in the multitude from these "compunctious visitings," which meaner men would not look on without horror. Do not think I am speaking disrespectfully of you when I say, that while an O'Brien may be found, it may be the lot of the proudest among you to be in the dock instead of the jury-box. How then, on such an occasion, would any of you feel, if such evidence as has been heard this day was adduced against you?

The application affects you—you shrink from the imaginary situation; remember, then, the great mandate of your religion—"Do unto all men as you would that they should do unto you." Why do you condescend to listen to me with such attention? Why are you so anxious, if even from me anything should fall tending to enlighten you on the present awful occasion? Is it because, bound by the sacred obligations of an oath, your hearts will not allow you to forfeit it? Have you any doubt that it is the object of O'Brien to take down the prisoner for the reward that follows? Have you not seen with what more than instinctive keenness this bloodhound has pursued his victim? How he has kept him in view from place to place, until he hunts him through the avenues of the court to where the unhappy man stands now, hopeless of all succour but that which your verdict shall afford. I have heard of assassinations by sword, by pistol, and by dagger; but here is a wretch who would dip the Evangelists in blood! If he thinks he has not sworn his victim to death, he is ready to swear without mercy and without end. But oh! do not, I conjure you, suffer him to take an oath: the hand of the murderer should not pollute the purity of the gospel; or, if he will swear, let it be by the knife, the proper symbol of his profession.'

"No longer daring to use him as a witness in the courts of justice, O'Brien was still retained by the authorities, and kept on duty within the corridors of the Castle, where, under the guidance and protection of Majors Sandys and Sirr, he rendered such services as his peculiar character and abilities afforded. Many persons are still living, who have seen Major Sirr, ac-

companied by O'Brien and a band of his confederates, passing through the public thoroughfares in quest of victims; and their descriptions still vividly depict the horror and apprehension with which he and they were regarded, and unfold many acts of the brutal and audacious spirit in which their missions were performed. A gentleman of distinction in our city, lately described to the writer a scene which he beheld in the open day, during the period to which we are now alluding. He said, that, he remembered upon one particular occasion, having seen Major Sirr come out of the Lower Castle Gate, accompanied by O'Brien and a few others, and then proceed along Dame Street. A gentleman of a distinguished mien, and evidently a stranger, attracted by the singular appearance of the party, stopped, and with an indication of surprise regarded them as they went by him. The manner of the stranger attracted the notice of O'Brien, who, darting from his place in the group, prostrated the gentleman upon the pavement with a well-directed blow. Major Sirr, hearing the noise, turned round, and seizing O'Brien, thrust him back to his place again, and then proceeded onward without further noticing the audacity of his subordinate. The crowd gathered about the indignant gentleman, and raised him from the ground: he spoke of the laws, and said something of redress, but his silent auditors only shook their heads and passed away.

"While Sandys and Sirr were thus employed against the political adversaries of the government, under its authority and for its rewards, they were not neglectful of the opportunities which their avocations afforded for the acquisition of property, by the plunder of those

whose homes were open to their scrutiny. Under the authority with which they were invested, they ransacked the houses of the most respectable citizens in search of men; but plate, jewels, pictures, and other portable property, were openly appropriated by these functionaries to their own use and advantage. . . .

"The year 1798 passed away with its horrors; the insurrection had subsided, and the silence of a subdued nation was hailed as the restoration of tranquillity. The valuable services of O'Brien were no longer needed, and he became a troublesome incumbrance to his former protectors. Could he, like his brother professor Reynolds, have referred to his services, and enumerated his claims upon the state, by the number of 'the coffins he had filled,' he would have been loaded with wealth, and enabled, like that individual, to leave a country where his life was both hateful and insecure; but Providence decided otherwise, and, by a just retribution, that government which had once endeavoured to make O'Brien the intermediate instrument in the destruction of others, in a short time after became his own accuser. In the month of May, in the memorable year 1800, the vigilance of the authorities was aroused by the circumstance of a number of persons assembling in a field in the vicinity of Kilmainham, for the purpose of playing football. This event, unimportant as it was, however, had its effect upon the troubled conscience of the state; and apprehending that sedition lurked in the ranks of the ball-players, Major Sirr was directed to interrupt the game, and capture any suspected characters that his loyal instinct might detect amongst the crowd. Having arrived at the field, which was enclosed by a high

wall, he stationed O'Brien and some soldiers at one side, with directions to prevent the egress of the people, while Sirr, accompanied by another military party, proceeded to enter the field by the common entrance. O'Brien, however, was not satisfied to remain on the outside, and proceeded to climb over the wall into the field. Some persons seeing him thus scaling the wall with soldiers, and fearing that an attack was about to be made upon them, cried out, 'O'Brien the informer!' upon which the game was suspended, and the people began to move away from that quarter of the field. Infuriated by the manner in which his appearance was announced, O'Brien leaped from the wall, and rushing upon a decrepid invalid, named John Hoey, who was standing by observing the scene, with a dagger stabbed him to the heart! This murder, although done in their service, still was too foul even for his powerful patrons to protect O'Brien against its consequences; and a prosecution having been instituted by the relatives of the victim, the government gave up its indiscreet servant to be dealt with by the very laws which its own conduct had previously taught him to disregard. On O'Brien's trial, Major Sirr appeared as a witness for the defence, and endeavoured to induce the court to believe that the prisoner was subject to mental derangement; but the jury, without hesitation, pronounced him guilty, and the presiding judge (Day) sentenced him to death. 'If murder admitted of aggravation,' said that learned judge upon the occasion, 'the felon's crime, which had been clearly established in evidence to the full satisfaction of the court and jury, was aggravated by the most unprovoked, wanton, and savage cru-

elty; he murdered an innocent, infirm, and defenceless man; a man with whom it was probable he had no previous intercourse, and in consequence against whom he could harbour no particular malice; but it was therefore substantiated that he cherished malice prepense against mankind in general, whence he became a member unfit for society, for whose sake and example he should be made an ignominious and disgraceful sacrifice.' On the gibbet, O'Brien expressed his disappointment at the ingratitude of the state, for abandoning him in his hour of need, and died warning the concourse by which he was surrounded never to put any trust in the Castle authorities." [1]

In the preceding account, mention is made of the brutal conduct of the "major's people" towards the inhabitants of Dublin; but the fact that is stated would give a very inadequate idea of the extent to which that conduct was carried. O'Brien and his associates usually followed Major Sirr at a short distance when he went abroad; if any one stopped to look after the major, he was hustled, not unfrequently beaten, by his myrmidons, and if he ventured to remonstrate, was carried off to the Castle guard-house or Sandy's provost. On one occasion, a respectable merchant of Dublin, a Mr. M'Cabe, having committed the treasonable offence to the major's dignity of turning round to look after him as he passed, he was instantly struck on the head by O'Brien; his hat was knocked off, and while stooping in the act of picking it up, he was kicked by this ruffian.

There was no redress for these acts; the man who

[1] "Dublin Monthly Magazine," April 1842.

might be fool enough to seek it, would become a marked man, subject to be taken up on suspicion, sworn against, as in Hevey's case, and perhaps hanged. A gentleman of the name of Adrien was seen looking up at the windows of the Exchange, where some prisoners were confined; he was tapped on the shoulder by the major, and told, at his peril, to turn his eyes on that side of the street again. The floggings in the Castle Yard were frequently attended by O'Brien and his gang, and the victims, while writhing under the lash, were treated by them with brutal jests and vulgar ribaldry.

In turning the prisoners to pecuniary account, Sirr and Sandys played into one another's hands; the major made the arrests, turned over the prisoners to Sandys and O'Brien, and the latter duly worked upon their hopes and fears alternately, threatening them with perpetual imprisonment, transportation, or the triangles, and acquainting them with the kindness of the major's heart, the forgiveness of his disposition, and the necessity of making a proper compliment either in goods or money. Every act of favour or indulgence was a perquisite, in the provost. Hevey's liberation cost him a horse; M'Gauran's, of Patrick Street, cost him a house at Tallaght. This man was a grocer, living in the vicinity of the depot of Robert Emmet, where the explosion took place. He was in nowise connected with Emmet, or cognizant of his plans, but he had a quantity of wine strongly suspected of being long in bottle; he was arrested by the major, sent to the provost, and committed to the care of Sandys: he came out deprived of nearly all his property. A Mr. Cosgrave, of Crumlin, was suspected of possessing certain Popish pictures

he had brought with him from Italy; his house was ransacked, on the plea of searching for a suspected servant: the servant was not found there, but the pictures were detected, and there was presumptive proof of their having been painted by old masters. The major was a lover of the arts; not, indeed, a scrupulous collector: he left the largest collection of indifferent pictures that ever came under the Dublin hammer.

While Holt was confined in the Tower, he suffered continually from O'Brien's rapacity, and his attempts to persuade him to turn approver against his associates. He was persecuted by the attentions of one of the sisters of O'Brien, who came to see him from Ballynakill, and who appears to have been employed to conquer the obstinacy of the intractable rebel, which no other efforts were able to accomplish. This damsel was accompanied by her sister, and their chief business in town appears to have been to obtain a pardon for their brother John, who had been one of Holt's rebel band. Holt speaks of him as an active, useful fellow, while with him, and of "Jemmy having enlisted him in his own diabolical employment of obtaining confidence in order to betray it." Jemmy had him now disguised as a sailor, and the duty assigned to him was, "to frequent the low public-houses, and get wretched, drunken creatures to utter treasonable words, and then, with Jemmy's assistance, he soon lodged them in limbo, and they were generally punished upon the testimony of these two birds of prey." Another of Holt's rebel band, John O'Neil, a man of great ferocity, who had attempted to murder a young gentleman of the name of Pilsworth, was imprisoned in the Tower; he, likewise, was gained

over by the persuasive eloquence of O'Brien and his master, and became one of the battalion of testimony, of whom mention will be found illustrative of the value of his services. Like Holt, when he beheld these wretches, murderers, and informers in copartnership, living in the possession of plenty, we may conclude, "the reign of the iniquity short, and its punishment eventually is certain." [1]

The case of a respectable citizen of Dublin, Mr. John Hevey, a brewer who was persecuted by Sirr for meddling with one of his people, is one which has stamped the character of this man, and left a lasting record of the means by which his power was upheld and his property acquired, in the disastrous period of 1797 and 1798.

In May, 1802, a cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Kilwarden, in which Hevey was the plaintiff, and the once redoubtable Major Sirr, the defendant. It was an action for assault and false imprisonment, and there was a verdict for Hevey of £150 damages. The plaintiff's case was stated by Mr. Curran, and that part of it which is well worthy of attention, in the following terms:—

"I must carry back your attention to the melancholy period of 1798. It was at that crisis that the defendant, from an obscure individual, started into notice and consequence. It is in the hot-bed of public calamity that such portentous and inauspicious products are accelerated without being matured. From being a town-major, he became at once invested with all the real power of the most absolute authority. The life and the

[1] "Memoirs of Holt," by T. E. Croker.

liberty of every man seemed to be given up to his disposal. With this gentleman's extraordinary elevation, began the story of the sufferings and ruin of the plaintiff. It seems a man of the name of M'Guire was prosecuted for some offence against the state. Mr. Hevey, the plaintiff, by accident was in court; he was then a citizen of wealth and credit, a brewer in the first line of that business. Unfortunately for him, he had heretofore employed the witness for the prosecution, and found him a man of infamous character. Unfortunately for himself, he mentioned this circumstance in court. The counsel for the prisoner insisted on his being sworn; he was so. The jury were convinced that no credit was due to the witness for the crown, and the prisoner was accordingly acquitted. In a day or two after, Major Sirr met the plaintiff in the street, asked how he dared to interfere in his business, and swore by God he would teach him how to meddle with 'his people.' 'Gentlemen,' said Mr. Curran, 'there are two sorts of prophets: one, that derives its source from real or fancied inspiration, and who are sometimes mistaken; but there is another class, who prophesy what they are determined to bring about themselves. Of this second, and by far the most authentic class, was the major; for Heaven, you see, has no monopoly of prediction. On the following evening poor Hevey was dogged in the dark into some lonely alley; there he was seized, he knew not by whom, nor by what authority, and became in a moment, to himself, to his family, and his friends, as if he had never been. He was carried away in equal ignorance of his crime and of his destiny; whether to be tortured, or hanged, or transported. His crime he

soon heard; it was the treason he had committed against the majesty of Major Sirr. He was immediately conducted to a new place of imprisonment in the Castle Yard, called the provost. Of this mansion of misery, of which you have since heard so much, Major Sandys was, and I believe yet is, the keeper—a gentleman of whom I know how dangerous it is to speak, and of whom every prudent man will think and talk with all due reverence. He seemed a twin-star of the defendant—equal in honour, in confidence; equal also (for who could be superior?) in probity and humanity. To this gentleman was my client assigned, and in his custody he remained about seven weeks, unthought of by the world, as if he had never existed. The oblivion of the *dungeon* is as profound as the oblivion of the dead: his family may have mourned his absence, or his probable death; but why should I mention so paltry a circumstance? The fears or the sorrows of the wretched give no interruption to the general progress of things. The sun rose, and the sun set, just as it did before; the business of the government, the business of the Castle, of the feast or the torture, went on with their usual exactness and tranquillity. At length Mr. Hevey was discovered among the sweepings of the prison, and was finally to be disposed of. He was at last honoured with the personal notice of Major Sandys: 'Hevey,' says the major, 'I have seen you ride, I think, a smart sort of mare; you can't use her here; you had better give me an order for her.' The plaintiff, you may well suppose, by this time had a tolerable idea of his situation; he thought he might have much to fear from a refusal, and something to hope from a compliance; at all

events, he saw it would be a means of apprising his family that he was not dead; he instantly gave the order required. The major graciously accepted it, saying, 'Your courtesy will not cost you much; you are to be sent down to-morrow to Kilkenny to be tried for your life; you will most certainly be hanged; and you can scarcely think that your journey to the other world will be performed on horseback.' The humane and honourable major was equally a prophet with his compeer. The plaintiff on the next day took leave of his prison, as he supposed, for the last time, and was sent under a guard to Kilkenny, then the head-quarters of Sir Charles Asgil, there to be tried by court-martial for such crime as might chance to be alleged against him. In any other country, the scene that took place on that occasion might excite no little horror and astonishment; but with us these sensations are become extinct by frequency of repetition. I am instructed that a proclamation was sent forth, offering a reward to any man who would come forward and give evidence against the traitor Hevey. An unhappy wretch, who had been shortly before condemned to die, and was then lying ready for execution, was allured by the proposal. His integrity was not firm enough to hesitate long between the alternative proposed—pardon, favour, and reward, with perjury, on one side: the rope and the gibbet on the other. His loyalty decided the question against his soul. He was examined, and Hevey was appointed by the sentence of a mild, and, no doubt, enlightened, court-martial, to take the place of the witness, and succeed to the vacant halter. Hevey, you may suppose," continued Mr. Curran, "now thought his labours at an

end; but he was mistaken; his hour was not yet come. You, probably, gentlemen, or you, my lord, are accounting for his escape, by the fortunate recollection of some early circumstances that might have smote upon the sensibility of Sir Charles Asgil, and made him to believe that he was in debt to Providence for the life of one innocent, though convicted, victim. But it was not so: his escape was purely accidental. The proceedings upon his trial happened to meet the eye of Lord Cornwallis. The freaks of fortune are not always cruel; in the bitterness of her jocularity, you see, she can adorn the miscreancy of the slave in the trappings of power, and rank, and wealth But her playfulness is not always inhuman; she will sometimes, in her gambols, fling oil upon the wounds of the sufferer; she will sometimes save the captive from the dungeon and the grave, were it only that she might afterwards consign him to his destiny, by the reprisal of capricious cruelty upon fantastic commiseration. Lord Cornwallis read the transmiss of Hevey's condemnation; his heart recoiled from the detail of stupidity and barbarity. He dashed his pen across the odious record, and ordered that Hevey should be forthwith liberated. I cannot but highly honour him for his conduct in this instance; nor, when I recollect his peculiar situation at that disastrous period, can I much blame him for not having acted towards that court with the same vigour and indignation which he has since shown with respect to these abominable jurisdictions. Hevey was now a man again; he shook the dust of his feet against his prison gate; his heart beat the response to the anticipated embrace of his family and his friends,

and he returned to Dublin. On his arrival here, one of the first persons he met was his old friend, Major Sandys. In the eye of poor Hevey, justice and humanity had shorn the major of his beams: he no longer regarded him with respect or terror. He demanded his mare, observing that 'though he might have travelled to Heaven on foot, he thought it more comfortable to perform his earthly journey on horseback.' 'Ungrateful villain,' said the major, 'is that the gratitude you show to his majesty and to me, for our clemency to you? you shan't get possession of the beast which you have forfeited by your treason, nor can I suppose that a noble animal that has been honoured with conveying the weight of duty and allegiance, would condescend to load her loyal loins with the vile burden of a convicted traitor.' As to the major," said Mr. Curran, "I am not surprised that he spoke and acted as he did. He was, no doubt, astonished at the impudence and novelty of calling the privileges of official plunder into question. Hardened by the numberless instances of that mode of unpunished acquisition, he had erected the frequency of impunity into a sort of warrant of spoil and rapine. One of these instances, I feel, I am now bringing to the memory of your lordship. A learned and respected brother barrister (L. M'Nally) had a silver cup; the major heard that for many years it had borne an inscription of 'Erin go brach,' which means, 'Ireland for ever.' The major considered this perseverance in guilt for such a length of years, as a forfeiture of the delinquent vessel. My poor friend was accordingly robbed of his cup.[1] But, upon writing to the then attorney-

[1] Curran's "poor friend" was Counsellor Leonard M'Nally.

general, that excellent officer felt the outrage, as it was his nature to feel everything that was barbarous or base, and the major's loyal sideboard was condemned to the grief of restitution. And here," said Mr. Curran, "let me say in my own defence, that this is the only occasion upon which I have ever mentioned this circumstance with the least appearance of lightness. I have often told the story in a way that it would not become me here to tell it. I have told it in the spirit of those feelings, which were excited at seeing that one man could be sober and humane at a crisis when so many thousands were drunk and barbarous. And probably my statement was not stinted by the recollection, that I held that person in peculiar respect and regard. But little does it signify whether acts of moderation and humanity are blazoned by gratitude, by flattery, or by friendship; they are recorded in the heart from which they sprung: and in the hour of adverse vicissitude, if it should ever come, sweet is the odour of their memory, and precious is the balm of their consolation. But to return. Hevey brought an action for his mare. The major, not choosing to come into court, and thereby suggest the probable success of a thousand actions, restored the property, and paid the costs of the suit to the attorney of Mr. Hevey. It may, perhaps, strike you, my lord," said Mr. Curran, "as if I was stating what was not relevant to the action. It is materially pertinent; I am stating a system of concerted vengeance and oppression. These two men acted in concert —they were Archer and Aimwell. You master at Lichfield, and I at Coventry. You plunder in the jail, and I tyrant in the street; and in our respective situations

we will coöperate in the common cause of robbery and vengeance. And I state this," said Mr. Curran, "because I see Major Sandys in court, and because I feel I can prove the fact beyond the possibility of denial. If he does not dare to appear, so called upon as I have called upon him, I prove it by his not daring to appear. If he does venture to come forward, I will prove it by his own oath; or if he venture to deny a syllable that I have stated, I will prove my irrefragable evidence of record, that his denial is false and perjured. Thus far, gentlemen," said Mr. Curran, "we have traced the plaintiff through the strange vicissitudes of barbarous imprisonment, of atrocious condemnation, and of accidental deliverance." [Here Mr. Curran described the feelings of himself and his family upon his restoration; his difficulties on his return; his struggle against the aspersions on his character; his renewed industry; his gradual success; the implacable malignity of Sirr and Sandys, and the immediate cause of the present action.] "Three years," said Mr. Curran, "had elapsed since the deliverance of my client; the public atmosphere had cleared; the private destiny of Hevey seemed to have brightened, but the malice of his enemies had not been appeased. On the 8th of September last, Mr. Hevey was sitting in a public coffee-house: Major Sirr was there. Mr. Hevey was informed that the major had at that moment said that he (Hevey) ought to have been hanged. The plaintiff was fired at the charge; he fixed his eye on Sirr, and asked if he had dared to say so. Sirr declared that he had, and had said truly. Hevey answered that he was a slanderous scoundrel. At that instant Sirr rushed upon him, and, assisted by three or

four of his satellites, who had attended him in disguise, secured him, and sent him to the Castle guard, desiring that a receipt might be given for the villain. He was sent thither. The officer of the guard chanced to be an Englishman but lately arrived in Ireland; he said to the bailiffs: 'If this was in England, I should think this gentleman entitled to bail; but I don't know the laws of this country. However, I think you had better loosen these irons on his wrists, or I think they may kill him.'

"Major Sirr, the defendant, soon arrived, went into his office, and returned with an order which he had written, and by virtue of which Mr. Hevey was conducted to the custody of his old friend and jailor, Major Sandys. Here he was flung into a room of about thirteen feet by twelve; it was called the hospital of the provost. It was occupied by six beds, in which were to lie fourteen or fifteen miserable wretches, some of them sinking under contagious diseases. On his first entrance, the light that was admitted by the opening of the door disclosed to him a view of the sad fellow-sufferers, for whose loathsome society he was once more to exchange the cheerful haunts of men, the use of open air and of his own limbs, and where he was condemned to expiate the disloyal hatred and contempt which he had dared to show to the overweening and felonious arrogance of slaves in office and minions in authority. Here he passed the first night without bed or food. The next morning his humane keeper, the major, appeared. The plaintiff demanded 'why he was so imprisoned?' complained of hunger, and asked for the jail allowance. Major Sandys replied with a torrent of abuse, which he

concluded by saying—'Your crime is your insolence to Major Sirr; however, he disdains to trample upon you. You may appease him by proper and contrite submission; but unless you do so, you shall rot where you are. I tell you this, that if government do not protect us, by God! we will not protect them. You will probably (for I know your insolent and ungrateful hardiness) attempt to get out by a habeas corpus, but in that you will find yourself mistaken, as such a rascal deserves.' Hevey was insolent enough to issue an habeas corpus, and a return was made upon it—'that Hevey was in custody under a warrant from General Craigh on a charge of treason.' That this return was a gross falsehood, fabricated by Sirr, I am instructed to assert. Let him prove the truth of it, if he can. The judge before whom this return was brought felt that he had no authority to liberate the unhappy prisoner; and thus, by a most inhuman and audacious lie, my client was again remanded to the horrid mansion of pestilence and famine." Mr. Curran proceeded to describe the feelings of Mr. Hevey, the despair of his friends, the ruin of his affairs, the insolence of Sandys, his offer to set him at large on condition of making an abject submission to Sirr; the indignant rejection by Hevey; the supplication of his father and sister rather to submit to an enemy, however base and odious, than perish in such a situation; the repugnance of Hevey, the repetition of kind remonstrance, and the final submission of Hevey to their entreaties; his signing a submission dictated by Sandys, and his enlargement from confinement. "Thus," said Mr. Curran, "was he kicked from his jail into the common mass of his fellow-slaves, by yielding

to the tender entreaties of the kindred that loved him, to sign what was in fact a release of his claim to the common rights of a human creature, by humbling himself to the brutal arrogance of a pampered slave. But he did suffer the dignity of his nature to be subdued by its kindness; he has been enlarged, and he has brought the present action." As to the facts that he had stated, Mr. Curran said he would make a few observations. It might be said for the defendant that much of what was stated may not appear in proof. To that, he said, he would not have so stated, if he had not seen Major Sandys in court; he had therefore put the facts against him in a way which he thought most likely to rouse him to a defence of his own character, if he dared to be examined as a witness. He had, he trusted, made him feel that he had no way of escaping universal detestation but by denying those charges, if they were false; and if they were not denied, being thus publicly asserted, his entire case was admitted: his original oppression in the provost was admitted; his robbery of the cup was admitted; his robbery of the mare was admitted; the lie so audaciously forged on the habeas corpus was admitted; the extortion of the infamous apology was admitted. Again, said Mr. Curran, I challenge this worthy compeer of a worthy compeer to make his election between proving his guilt by his own corporal oath, or by the more credible modesty of his silence. "And now," said Mr. Curran, "I have given you a mere sketch of this extraordinary history. No country governed by any settled laws, or treated with common humanity, could furnish any occurrences of such unparalleled atrocity; and if the author of 'Caleb

Williams,' or of the 'Simple Story,' were to read the tale of this man's sufferings, it might, I think, humble the vanity of their talents (if they are not too proud to be vain), when they saw how much a more fruitful source of incident could be found in the infernal workings of the heart of a malignant slave, than in the richest copiousness of the most fertile and creative imagination." [1]

The persecution which poor Hevey endured—the hardships he suffered during his confinement—the ruin brought on his business by his absence, and the expenses attendant on his trial at Kilkenny, eventually impaired his reason, and he died a few years ago, a pauper, in the beggars' hospital in Channel Row.

The wretches retained in the service of Sirr—regularly sent on assize duty—provided with clothing for special occasions—conveyed to and fro at the public expense, and boarded and lodged either with Hanlon, the under-keeper of the Tower, or Watkins, the keeper of the Castle Tavern, or domiciled in the Tower, under the immediate care and inspection of Mr. James O'Brien, have been described by Curran. In his admirable speech on the trial of Peter Finnerty, in 1797, he thus speaks of this band of informers:—

"I speak not now of the public proclamations for informers, with a promise of secrecy and extravagant reward! I speak not of those unfortunate wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory! I speak of what your own eyes have seen day after day during the course of this commission, while you attended this

[1] Trial, Hevey *v.* Sirr.—Stockdale's edition.

court:—the number of horrid miscreants, who acknowledged upon their oaths that they had come from the seat of government—from the very chambers of the Castle—where they had been worked upon by the fear of death and the hopes of compensation to give evidence against their fellows. That the mild, the wholesome, and merciful councils of this government are holden over those catacombs of living death, where the wretch that is buried a *man*, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and then is dug up an *informer*.

"Is this a picture created by a hag-ridden fancy, or is it a fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, make his appearance upon your table, the living image of life and death, and the supreme arbiter of both? Have you not marked, when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not seen how the human heart bowed to the awful supremacy of his power, in the undissembled homage of deferential horror? How his glance, like the lightning of Heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death—a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent! There was an antidote—a juror's oath! But even that adamantine chain, which bound the integrity of man to the throne of Eternal Justice, is solved and molten by the breath which issues from the mouth of the informer; conscience swings from her moorings; the appalled and affrighted juror speaks what his soul abhors, and consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim:

——Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

Informers are worshipped in the temple of justice, even as the Devil has been worshipped by pagans and savages. Even so, in this wicked country, is the informer an object of judicial idolatry; even so is he soothed by the music of human groans; even so is he placated and incensed by the fumes and the blood of human sacrifices."

On three occasions the major's life had been in imminent peril from the United Irishmen. In May, 1798, he was attacked by the body-guard of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Watling Street. In September, 1798, one Jackson, while under *examination* at the Exchange, was seized by Major Sirr in the act of presenting a pistol at his breast.[1] At the latter part of the same year an attempt was made on the major's life in Capel Street, and was frustrated by Mr. Flannagan,[2] a printer, formerly connected with "Carrick's Morning Post." The major, in one instance, was unconsciously the occasion of saving the life of a fellow-creature, though at the cost of another, which was only sacrificed by mistake in the hurry of his official business. Two persons of the name of Farrell, who were suspected to have taken an active part with the insurgents at the battle of Vinegar Hill, were apprehended in the vicinity of Dublin. Such evidence as at that period was consid-

1 See "Dublin Evening Post," 11th September, 1798.

2 Mr. Flannagan, well known to the author, and by every one respected to whom known, is still living in Dublin,—a hale, hearty, honest man, upwards of ninety years of age. In 1797 he was a journeyman printer, employed on "The Press" newspaper; in 1857 he is still a journeyman printer in Dublin.

ered conclusive, was obtained against one of them, Mr. James Farrell, while the courts-martial were sitting. The major went in person to the provost, and ordered the prisoner to be brought forth. The wrong man was brought out—the summary process was gone through —he was executed. Mr. James Farrell was subsequently liberated, went to Spain, and became a partner in the house of Gordon, Murphy, and Company, of Cadiz. After some years he returned in opulent circumstances to London, and resided there for many years, highly respected, and honoured with the acquaintance even of the brother of his sovereign.

At the time that he was at the height of his prosperity, Major Sirr visited London: he went on 'Change accompanied by the lord-mayor, and on that occasion Farrell was introduced to the major, and the latter was invited by him to dine at his house. Sirr had little idea that the merchant from whom he received the invitation, was one of the Vinegar Hill men whose fate had been in his hands. The major dined with Mr. James Farrell,—the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Savory (then of Bond Street, my informant) were of that dinner party. The twenty years that succeeded the rebellion were productive of extraordinary vicissitudes; and the one which brought the Vinegar Hill rebel and Major Sirr in social communion, was not the least singular. If we judge from Sirr's conduct on other similar occasions, had he recognized Farrell, the probability is, he would have felt gratified, and expressed his gratification, at the fortunate escape of the intended victim. The major's acts, in 1798, were all in the way of business, in the promotion of his own interests—his real zeal for those

of his employers is very questionable. One of the delegates, who had been arrested at Bond's—a ship-owner of the name of Trenor—escaped from the charge of Sirr and Sandys in the Castle, and succeeded in getting out of the country. Many years subsequently, Trenor was permitted to visit Ireland; he had an interview with Sirr, and was treated by him with the utmost civility, and congratulated on his happy escape. Trenor was then a man well to do in the world, and he is still living in comfortable circumstances in America, to which country he again returned.

Sirr was more prosperous in his worldly affairs, and more prudent in his conduct, than his friend Sandys:—in 1808, he was appointed one of the police magistrates in the city; and, when a new army regulation made it necessary that the post of town-major should be filled by a military officer, he retired from the public service, with the signal honour of a letter of approbation from the Duke of York, written by his Royal Highness. Neither Abercrombie nor Moore could boast of any similar distinction for their services in Ireland—they were reserved for those of Henry Charles Sirr.

When the Whigs came into power, some twenty-seven years ago, the major felt it to be the duty of a loyal subject to shape his politics to those of the existing government. When reform began to be talked of at the Castle by gentlemen in office, and it had ceased to be the custom to consider all reformers traitors, the major became a reformer, and was one of those who attended a public meeting in Dublin on the occasion of the successful issue of the French revolution in 1830, and in approval of the principles then triumphant.

When Catholic emancipation had made Mr. O'Connell eligible as a candidate for the representation of Dublin, and there was nothing to be got or gained by supporting the ascendency—or lost by disobliging the decrepid corporation—the major voted for Mr. O'Connell.

Five-and-thirty years had intervened between the pillage of one Catholic leader's house, and the lodging of its owner in Newgate—and the giving of his vote to send another to the imperial parliament.[1]

The latter years of Major Sirr were spent in collecting curiosities, books, and pictures. He became an amateur, and, in his own opinion, a connoisseur, of works of art and virtu. The disposal of his effects, however, at his decease, showed how few claims he had to the latter title. He frequently attended the book-auctions at the sale-room of Mr. Sharpe, of Anglesea Street; and not very long before his death, he entered the sale-room just as Mr. Moore's work, "The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," was put up for sale. The major's appearance at the moment of the casual announcement of that work, caused the bidding to go on briskly, and, among the bidders, passing comments on the merits of the work were not wanting. The major on that occasion made no addition to his library, nor was his stay at the auction-room of long duration.

The ruling passion of domineering over the humbler classes, he indulged in to the last, or at least endeav-

[1] The house of Mr. Thomas Braughall, of Eccles Street, one of the leading members of the Catholic Committee, was ransacked by the major in 1798, and property to a considerable amount was destroyed and plundered. Braughall was then about 70 years of age, a prisoner in Newgate.

oured so to do, in the exercise of his magisterial authority; but the terror of his influence had passed away with the decline of the supreme legal power which was associated in men's minds with the name and exploits of Major Sirr in the good old times of 1798. He died on the 11th of January, 1841, and was interred on the 14th, in Werburgh Street church-yard, the burial place of his family. A broken tombstone over his remains, and those of his father and brother-in-law, bears the following inscription:—

"The place of burial
Of Major Sirr and Humphrey Minchin,
1790."

In the same place of interment, in one of the vaults of Werburgh's Church, the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are deposited, immediately under the chancel. There are two leaden coffins here, laid side by side; the shorter of the two is that which contains the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The upper part of the leaden coffin, in many places, has become decayed and encrusted with a white powder, and, in such places, the woollen cloth that lines the inner part of the coffin is visible, and still remains in a perfect state.

The entrance to the vault where the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are interred, is within a few paces of the grave of Charles Edward Sirr, by whose hand the former perished. The desperate struggle which took place between them, the one survived fifteen days, the other forty-three years. Few who visit the place where they are interred, will recall the history of both, without lamenting the errors which proved fatal to the

life of Fitzgerald, and deploring the evils of the calamitous times which called the services of such a man as Sirr into action.

MAJOR SANDYS.

This gentleman served as a captain in the Longford militia, and married a daughter of Hamilton Gorges, Esq., of Kilbrue. His connection with this once opulent and respectable family, of high Troy and Protestant ascendency principles, procured him official patronage. Mr. Edward Cooke, Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, had married another daughter of Mr. Gorge's. The captain, soon after his marriage, was appointed brigade-major to the garrison of Dublin. In 1797, '98, and '99, he presided over the Prevot Prison in the Royal Barracks, a filthy, close, dark, and pestilential place of confinement, with a small court yard, and some ill-constructed sheds, set up to afford increased accommodation for the multitude of persons daily sent to the depôt.

There Major Sandys, the brother-in-law of the Under-Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant (one of the most thoroughly wicked and wantonly cruel of the renowned triumvirate of majors to whom the administration of the system of terrorism in the capital was committed) exercised his brutal instincts and truculent propensities with entire impunity, and consequently with undisguised effrontery.

The services of Sandys and his companion Sirr were not confined alone to the detection and apprehension of those who are charged with being implicated in the then pending conspiracy. To their especial discretion was

also entrusted the procuration and maintenance of that species of evidence which it was necessary to produce for the conviction of those who were accused of treasonable acts. In this pursuit their efforts were greatly aided by the law; for, it was held that the evidence of a single witness was sufficient to sustain the proof of an overt act of treason in Ireland, although, according to the statute law in England, two witnesses were required to procure a conviction for high treason there. Thus, by a designed mission of the clause in the Irish act, the informer's tale was disincumbered of that check which the absence of sufficient corroboration or the contradictory evidence of another witness might afford.

Major Sandys carried on a regular trade in the official advantages of his functions in the prevot. He sold indulgences to the state prisoners, of a little more than the ordinary scant allowances of air, light, and food. He sold exemption from the taws and the triangles for money and for goods, for every marketable commodity. The unfortunate wretches detained for courts-martial, and delivered up after trial and condemnation, usually fell into the hands of this monster. A young man named Carroll, who was tried by court-martial in June, 1798, but not yet acquainted with the decision of the court, consigned to the tender mercies of Sandys, was one day eating his dinner with another prisoner, Mr. William Houston, a young surgeon, who had belonged to Mercer's Hospital, when he was startled by the sudden appearance of Sandys at the door, calling out in a loud voice—"*Carroll, come out; you are to be hanged.*" The young man, terror-struck, threw down the knife and fork which he had in his hands, walked out

of his dungeon, and in an instant the rope was put about his neck; he was forced down stairs, while Houston supplicated ineffectually the major for a respite even of a few minutes, in order to have a priest sent for, to prepare his young companion for eternity. He was thrust on a car which was in waiting at the door of the prevot, conveyed to the Old Bridge, and hanged there from a lamp post.

The dawn of better government in Ireland, of a milder administration of justice than that with which Orangemen were entrusted, and their partizans or *protegées*—town-majors, yeomanry captains and lieutenants, and police magistrates—about the close of 1802, was the beginning of a dark and dismal time to the Sirrs, Swans, Sandys, and their compeers. Their consequence to the state was gone; their former crimes against their fellow-citizens were even loathed by their employers. The majors, in the execution of Jemmy O'Brien, saw symptoms of a revulsion in the feelings of men in power, which made it plain that the reign of terrorism, their *régime* of blood, was over. Sirr gave himself up to "the fine arts," the police-court (where pickpockets instead of rebels engaged his worship's attention), and to the conventicles of the saints of these latter days, in his native city. Swan was not much of a swaddler or a saint; he stalked about Dublin for some years, an avoided man, with a cold, unruffled, and rather defiant look; a man, apparently, of callous feelings, but without any manifest predilection for great crime for its own sake.

MAJOR WILLS.

"*Major*" John Wills, an old police functionary, a magistrate for the counties of Dublin and Tipperary, a terrorist of 1798, an eminent pike finder, rebel-hunter, croppy-scourger, and of late years an active pursuer of rural rogues and vagrants, died in the odour of sanctity, at his residence near Lucan, in the early part of 1853, leaving property to the amount of upwards of £30,000. His merits as a Protestant ascendency magistrate, and his virtues as a Christian, were made the subject of a funeral oration at his interment, which was delivered by the Rev. Hugh Prior, of the Priests' Protection Society, over his remains. Mr. Wills was in receipt of a pension of £600 a year. He had been a serjeant in the Longford militia; he held an undefinable rank of major unattached in the army, but qualified to be sent to any place where his services might be required, and was considered on permanent duty. His remains were buried in St. Paul's Church, near Barrack Street.

MR. KERR.

Mr. Kerr, of Newtownards, in March, 1797, was arrested and sent on board a tender, subsequently sent to jail, and while in confinement became an informer. The informations he laid were against four respectable young men in the north of Ireland. Personal fear, and the arts of the major's officials, had gained another member for the battalion in Kerr. He was confined in the same jail with Neilson, Teeling, Russell, and M'Cracken; and a few days before the trial of the young

men above mentioned, one of the state prisoners confined in Kilmainham jail (Charles Teeling), who was somewhat noted for his powers of mimicry and personation of other people, contrived to get admission, in the garb of a clergyman, to the remote part of the prison where Kerr was concealed. Under the pretence of ministering to his spiritual wants and making him sensible of his former errors, he drew such a frightful picture of the calamities which perjury and treachery were calculated to draw on the families of the unfortunate victims of spies, etc., that Kerr, stung to the quick, confessed his intentions with respect to his former associates, and promised that nothing would ever induce him to give evidence against them that would do them hurt. The solemn-looking gentleman in black withdrew, returned to his companions, resumed his natural sprightly air, and told the result of his first efforts in his new calling: "We have rescued four men from death, and Kerr from perdition." [1] Kerr kept his word at the approaching assizes; he was, as usual on such occasions, newly dressed for the witness-box at the public expense, taken down to the assizes, escorted by a troop of dragoons, for the informers who attended at the assizes were, on most occasions similarly attended; but Kerr could not be got to swear up to the mark, and the men were accordingly acquitted.

FREDERICK DUTTON.

One of the informers who rose to distinction in 1798, was a Mr. Frederick Dutton, a native of England, some time settled at Newry, in the north of Ireland. His

[1] Teeling's "Narrative of the Irish Rebellion," p. 80.

services were called into acquisition on grand occasions, such as at the trial of O'Connor, Quigley, Burns, Allen, and Leary, in the May of 1798. Dutton commenced his career in the north, and was the predecessor of Mr. Newell. He had been a servant to a Mr. Carlisle, and discharged on an accusation of theft. He then became an informer, and was raised by Lord Carhampton to the rank of quarter-master in the corps of artillery in that quarter, in the years of 1795 or 1796. When O'Connor and his companions were arrested at Margate, a treasonable paper purporting to be addressed by a secret political society in England to the directory in France, inviting the French to invade England, was said to have been found in the pocket of Quigley. It was produced on the trial, and falsely sworn to by Dutton (who was specially sent from Dublin) as being in the handwriting of Quigley.

The author has reason to know that Quigley was a member of the society of United Irishmen, but he had no connection with any English society. The circumstance of a treasonable paper of this kind having been left in the pocket of a great coat hung up in a public coffee-room, was an evidence of folly that the man's character repudiated, and to the last moment of his life he persisted in declaring that paper had never been in his possession. The fact is, the coat was mistaken for O'Connor's: it being the fashion at that period for persons of rank to wear powder, it was supposed to be O'Connor's. Quigley, unfortunately for him, did wear powder, and the circumstance proved fatal to him. A different version of this affair has been given by Mr.

Scott, who was counsel for one of the prisoners at Maidstone.

The miscreant Newell, in his autobiography, thus alludes to Mr. Dutton: "On the 18th of November I received the following production of that champion of religion and good government, and of which the town and neighbourhood of Newry can bear testimony—Dutton:—

"'Dublin Castle, 16th November, 1797.

"'DEAR BROTHER—I beg leave to acquaint you that I arrived here last night. There appears nothing in the "Press" either with or against us, therefore I don't think worth while to send it. Should any new thing make its appearance in the paper of this night, I shall send it to-morrow night, that is to say, if I do not sail for England before that. Mr. Kemmis, who I saw last night, tells me there is no less than five writs out against me; therefore you may well suppose if they should once lay hold of your celebrated brother, he will be as happy as if the devil had him. I would be glad you would write to me to Emerald House, Wrixham, near Chester, and let me know what you are up to. My best respects to the Murdochs; I hope when I return from England they will be able to put me in the way of earning a couple of hundreds; this they can't be off doing, if they wish to befriend me, for they must reasonably suppose that poor Dutton cannot carry on all those lawsuits without a great deal of cash. And where in the name of ——— is he to get it? I hope none of his friends would wish him to be hanged for robbing the mail-coach, or breaking into some of the banks. . . .

Tell them to think upon this business; they have until the 9th of next month. Reflect upon it, and absolutely they might as well be guilty of murder as to neglect it; for I must fee my council, and then you know there is another expense which I have not mentioned— . . . and I beg leave to subscribe myself

" 'Your most affectionate and celebrated brother,

" 'FRED. DUTTON.

" 'P.S.—I am now at Smith's, writing, and if you'd see his hair standing strait up on his head, you'd laugh, at my telling him the danger he must be in when he comes into court to give in evidence, as I tell him there is a probability that some one or other may absolutely have the boldness to shoot him in open court; he firmly believes it will be the case.

" 'Lieutenant E. J. Newell, Esq., 9th Light Dragoons, Belfast.' "

The services of Mr. Dutton did not remain unrewarded. In a letter from a settler in one of the most flourishing colonies of Australia addressed to the publisher of the first edition of this work, it is stated that Mr. Frederick Dutton obtained an official situation in Holland, connected with the British government; that he was living about 1840 at Cuxhaven, married to a second wife, a step-daughter of the late William Pollock, Esq., of Newry, and holding some situation in the post-office department; that his sons went to Australia, speculated in mines, and became persons of great opulence and distinction there.

NEWELL.

John Edward Newell, whose autobiography will be given elsewhere, was a portrait-painter, a native of

Downpatrick. He appears to have joined the society of United Irishmen for the purpose of advancing himself in life. He acquired a sufficient knowledge of his new business to enter into correspondence with the agents of the government in the spring of 1797. When he had obtained a good deal of money from government, he betrayed his employers, and published his correspondence with them. He concludes the latter in these words:—

"Having now submitted to the public, in my own illiterate stile, this production, the impartiality and truth of which my letters of correspondence (seized by Alderman Exshaw, and deposited in the Castle) will best show; and, if this voluntary publication of my own infamy, and proclaiming to the world the conduct of a desperate and wicked juncto, can in any degree make a restitution for the perjuries and crimes I have committed, my object is fully answered; and with every respect for that public to which I have been so great a traitor, I subscribe myself the public's most obedient servant,

"E. J. Newell."

Mr. Newell was murdered by the friends of those whom he brought to the gallows.

HUGH WHEATLY.

"Remember-Orr" Wheatly.

One of the earliest of the informers was a soldier in a militia regiment, of the name of Wheatly, who commenced his career as a witness on the trial of William Orr, who was executed on his testimony at Carrickfergus in 1797. Wheatley's antecedents were by no means good, and so little trust could be put on his oath, even by juries of the right sort, that it was found necessary to back up his damaged testimony by the production

of other witnesses less notoriously discredited. We find him in January, 1798, among the tag-rag and bob-tail of the major's battalion, receiving one guinea a week only for his services. However, I have reason to believe they were eventually recognized and rewarded, and that a son of this meritorious gentleman was known to me in another hemisphere.

In Western Australia I was acquainted with a gentleman, long settled in that colony, who had served in the same regiment with Wheatly, and from that gentleman, Captain Hester, I received the following information in 1844:—

FROM CAPTAIN HESTER TO R. R. MADDEN, RESPECTING WHEATLY.

"Canning River, Western Australia.

"My dear Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge your note relative to the late Captain Wheatly, of the Royal West Middlesex Militia, to the best of my recollection, as I have not any of the army lists of that period. In answer to your queries, No. 1—Where did you first know him? At Silver Hill Barracks, Kent, in the Royal West Middlesex Militia, after his return from Egypt. No. 2—What regiment? He was then lieutenant, and wore the sphinx on his cap. He was a captain in 1820. No. 3—What aged man? In 1810 he appeared between thirty and forty. No. 4—How did he get his commission? I cannot say, nor could any of the officers. No. 5—What character? Not a very good one, being very dissipated. He swore to one woman being his wife, although we knew to the contrary; and the gentleman you allude to was the son of one of them, which he acknowledged to me when he vis-

ited my house on the Canning. Captain Wheatly was a very illiterate man; he could scarcely write a word. He came from the north of Ireland, and was a Protestant, he said. No. 6—What was his general conduct? He was commonly called the old rake. When I was last with our Colonel Bayly in France, and was returning to England, Colonel Bayly said to me that if I should see Captain Wheatly at Margate, not to speak to him. The commanding officers appeared always in fear of him. It was not because he had good pistols, for he never used them himself, but would lend them, as he did his cash, on interest. He was remarkable for his love of money and for his profligacy. No. 7—Was Captain Wheatly married? No, he was not. No. 8—Was he a temperate man? I never saw him drunk, although I have often dined at the mess with him, and been at the clubs in Ireland with him. He was a shrewd, cunning man. As he did not volunteer to serve on the Continent, I lost sight of him for a short period. I saw him in or about 1827 at Uxbridge, in the Royal West Middlesex Militia, where he was arresting some of his countrymen for debt, although his brother officers.

"I remain, my dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

"Thomas Hester.

"To the Hon. R. R. Madden, Esq., Colonial Secretary
"of Western Australia."

M'GOWAN.

M'Gowan, a Chelsea prisoner, appeared in January, 1798, as evidence against John Ferris, charged with administering an unlawful oath. On his cross-examination by Mr. Curran, he admitted that he came

from bridewell—that he was kept in confinement. Mr. Curran asked him: "Pray, who sent you up here?" The witness prevaricated, but being pressed, he answered: "It was Major Sirr who sent me here. The major took me prisoner four or five months ago; I was then brought to the Castle. I told nothing the first day. I was threatened with being brought to a court-martial. I can't tell whether or not they intended to frighten me." Being asked, "if he had never been threatened with being hanged in the riding-house, if he did not inform," his answer was, "Who told you that?" The solicitor-general then took him to task, and he said he was not threatened to be hanged in the riding-house. He said he had been an United Irishman; he had one of their "constitutions" in his possession; had lent it to Mr. Hepenstal, who returned it to him, and he had lost it. The prisoner was acquitted.

JOHN HANLON.

John Hanlon, in 1796, swore against three men at Athy assizes, who were condemned on his evidence on a charge of Defenderism. Immediately after the trial, Hanlon lodged sworn informations against twelve men (including John Ratigan) for conspiring to murder him. In the indictment he is described as a soldier of artillery. Hanlon held a subordinate office in the Tower: he was one of the persons on the major's permanent list. In 1803 he accompanied the major to a house in the liberty, where information had been received of one of Robert Emmet's principal accomplices, Henry Howley, being concealed. The major, with his ordinary prudence, put Hanlon forward to arrest a man

known to be of a most determined character, and the result of his discretion was, that Hanlon was shot by Howley, and, like unfortunate Ryan, lost his life, and the major, in both instances, remained unhurt.

The names of the informers of a lower grade, and the acts which chiefly gained them notoriety, are briefly noticed here, as their names frequently occur in documents that have reference to these times.

M'Cann was first produced by the major on the trial of a man of the name of Maguire; he broke down in his testimony. He was one of Lord Carhampton's *protegées*. Reference having been made on this trial to O'Brien's evidence, the major, on his examination respecting M'Cann's testimony, swore that "he thought as well of him (M'Cann) as of O'Brien." The jury believed neither, and they acquitted the prisoner.

Conlan was an apothecary in Dundalk, who swore against his own three cousins (a father and his two sons), who, being convicted on his evidence, were executed.

William Lawler was brought forward as a witness against the Defenders, in Dublin, in 1795. He broke down in his testimony on Leary's trial, and the prisoner was acquitted.[1]

Mitchell, one of the major's men, lived in Ship Street, and was employed in the seizure at Finnerty's office, in 1797.

James Gray, of Tamlaght, gave evidence at the Londonderry assizes against William M'Keever, in September, 1797; broke down in his evidence, and the prisoner was acquitted.

[1] "Dublin Evening Post," September 23, 1797.

Cooper, whose real name was Morgan, was a returned convict from transportation.

Walsh swore against a young gentleman of the name of Clinch, of Rathcoole, the preparation for whose execution, we are informed by Mr. Moore, was the occasion of the violent excitement of poor Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which hastened his dissolution. The only comment on Walsh's evidence which I shall offer, is a copy of a letter addressed to his father, immediately before his execution, for which I am indebted to one of his friends, still living in Dublin.[1]

"Honoured Father,

"I expected to have seen or heard from you ere this. I fear my fate is determined; I am told I am to suffer death this day. It would be a great satisfaction to me to see you before I die; and if you could bring or send a priest to me, I think I could then die happy: at all events, I will meet my fate with fortitude.

"I would not for worlds exchange situations with Walsh, my prosecutor, who has behaved in the most base and treacherous manner, and swore to several falsehoods. His charges were as follows:—That I swore him to be true to the French, and that I was a serjeant in the rebels, and attended a meeting of serjeants, to elect a captain.—Dear father, I assure you the foregoing charges are false, and, as I hope for salvation, I declared the truth at the court-martial. I hope, dear father, you will bear this with fortitude, and comfort

[1] Mr. Clinch was, I believe, the brother of the performer of his name, who was the most distinguished actor of the day in Ireland. His principal characters were Beverley, Oronooko, Joseph Surface, Jacques, etc. He was in vogue in Dublin in 1792, '93, '94, and '95.

my dear mother on this trying occasion. I feel more for my friends than myself. My love to my dear sister Swords, Ann, Kitty, Fanny, Alicia, Michael, and Larrey, and my brother-in-law, Swords. As I am preparing for that awful moment, I beg you'll excuse any omission on my side.

"I am, honoured father, your ever dutiful and now unfortunate son, JOHN CLINCH."

"Provost Prison, June 2, 1798,
Eight o'clock in the morning."

The extent to which the system of espionage was carried on, will now hardly be thought credible.

In Sept., 1797, a Mr. Watkins, in the Castle, dieted Messrs. Newell, Murdoch, Lowry, Hayes, Kane, Harper, Shaw, O'Brien, M'Dermott, Kavanagh.

In Jan., 1798, Wheatly, Mitchell, Grey, Chapman, Baynsham and Travers were on the major's list, at one guinea a week each.

In April, 1798, Major Sirr employed Doran, M'Allister, and Magrath, attending the assizes.

In Jan., 1799, Grey, Mitchell, Bourke, O'Neil, Lindsay, and Chambers, were the major's people.

In July, 1800, Major Sirr paid off half a dozen of the battalion,—Edward Boyle, Michael Fagan, Michael Higgins, Dan Gore, James Murphy, John Kearney.

In February, 1801, Wheatly was paid off.

In March, same year, the major lost the services of his friend and employée, James O'Brien, who was committed to jail on a charge of murder.

In July, 1801, Chapman, then in Cork, was paid off after one year and one month's service.

In August, 1801, Edward Lennon was "sent out of town" by Mr. Trevor.

In October, 1801, Hanlon was employed to bury Lennon.

In Dec., 1801, Campbell was paid for the use of his rooms in the Castle, for Conlan and Hughes, and Major Sirr discharged two men on his list, who were employed in the country at one guinea each.

In Feb., 1802, Major Sirr came to a final settlement with John Beckett, Mrs. Lennon, Mrs. Dunn, Charles M'Gowan, John Kearney, and Dan Cart——, in full of their claims.

In the latter part of the same month, Major Sirr settled also with Mrs. O'Brien, John Neil, Francis Devlin, John Coughlan, and J. H. Jackson.

In June, 1802, Coleman was settled with in full of all claims.

In Oct., 1802, John Conlan and E. O'Neil were discharged.

In May, 1803, Richard Chapman was paid off, and the major's people then were, Boyle, Carroll, Smith, and Farrell.

In Oct., 1803, Dr. Trevor paid off Ryan and Mahaffy, and Major Sirr settled with Condon for informing against Howley.

In November, 1803, the major's battalion had dwindled down to Carroll, Boylan, and a few minor miscreants, and at the end of that month, they likewise were paid off, and the major appears to be compelled to "abate his train," and to have experienced the fate of Lear at the hands of Goneril.